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Local Records, Their Nature and Care edited by Lilian J. Redstone and Francis W. Steer (London, 1953), reviewed by Dhan Keswani

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India: National Archives of India—Allahabad—Assam—Bombay—Hyderabad—Jammu and Kashmir—Madras—Mysore—Orissa—Punjab—Rajasthan—West Bengal. *International*: International Library and Documentation Congress—Access to Library and Archival Collections through Microfilm—International Congress of Historical Sciences—United Nations Organization—Council of Europe: Meeting of Archivists. *United Kingdom*: Anglo-American Conference of Historians—British Association for American Studies—Bodleian Library, Oxford—British Museum, London—John Rylands Library, Manchester. *United States of America*: National Archives and Records Service—Library of Congress—Franklin D. Roosevelt Library—Eisenhower Presidential Library Commission—Society of American Archivists. *Photoduplication and Microcopying*: Association française de normalisation—La Documentation française—Microskanner 155

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PUNJAB GOVERNMENT RECORD OFFICE

IN consequence of the constitutional changes under the Indian Independence Act of 1947 the erstwhile province of the Punjab was partitioned into two. The new state of the Punjab (India) had to set up a Record Office of its own because the parent organisation was left at Lahore across the border. Despite overwhelming preoccupations the State Government took prompt steps to constitute such an Office as early as 1948 at its provisional headquarters at Simla.

Building, Stacks and Storage Arrangements

The Punjab Government Record Office has been, as an interim arrangement, housed in a centrally situated building, formerly St. Andrew's Church, which has been purchased by the State Government. To render the building suitable for the archives considerable changes have been made and necessary fittings and fixtures installed therein. Since the equipment provided for the Record Office will have to be shifted to its permanent functional building to be built at Chandigarh, the new capital of the State, stacks and shelves provided at present are of a portable type.

Staff and Administration

The Civil Secretariat Records Office at Lahore was under the charge of a part-time Keeper of Records who happened to be an officer of the Education Department. But the newly established Record Office at Simla has been placed from its inception under the control of a whole-time Keeper of Records. This step indeed reflects the importance which the State Government attaches to the proper preservation of its archives. Besides the Keeper, the Office is served by two Technical Assistants—one Senior and one Junior, two Clerks, a Restorer, a Daftari, a Record Lifter and three Menders and Binders.

Until 1951 the Record Office was under the administrative control of the Chief Secretary to the State Government, and the staff was borne on the establishment of the Civil Secretariat. Thereafter the Office

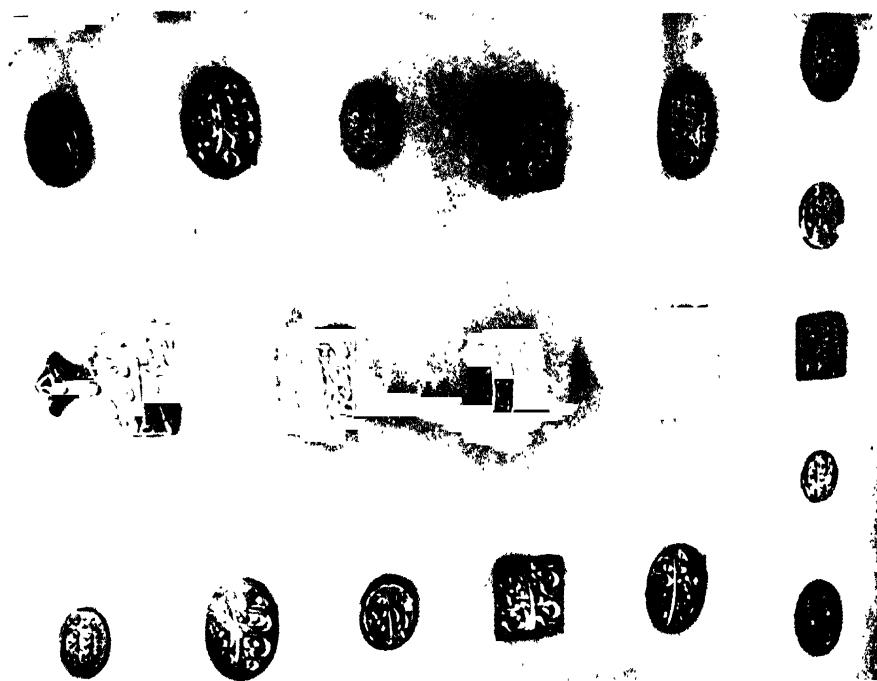
became a self-contained unit under the administrative charge of the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, Education Department, and a joint post of Keeper of Records and Curator, Punjab Government Museum, was created to hold charge of the two allied Offices.

Character and Scope

Unlike the parent office in the united Punjab the pattern and purpose of the State Record Office of the Punjab (India) had to be varied on account of the peculiar circumstances under which it was constituted and the fact that there was no other agency to look after historical materials and cultural relics of the State. It had to take up certain functions which are not strictly in conformity with the character of an archival repository. In view of the paucity of well-equipped research institutions and libraries in the State it has been felt necessary to concentrate at the Record Office, in addition to the administrative records, all types of historical materials, such as manuscripts, documents, paintings and drawings, secondary source materials like government publications, reports, gazettes and gazetteers, and old and rare publications and reference books on the history of the Punjab in particular and the history of India in general. An effort has been made to build up the repository not merely as an archives but also as a self-contained research institute catering alike to the needs of the administration and historical research in the State. As such it attracts a much wider clientele and has been found to be very useful for the promotion of historical research with the help of illustrative and elucidatory sources.

Acquisitions of Records

Even though the State Record Office had to be started *de novo* from scratch barely seven years ago, it has made noteworthy progress. During this period its archival holdings have grown into sizable proportions. The nucleus of this collection is formed by the State Government's share of the contents of the Secretariat Record Office at Lahore. According to the decisions of the Punjab Partition Committee and the Arbitral Tribunal's award the Punjab (I) received the *Khalsa Durbar* Records and the District Records of the 19th century pertaining to the Punjab districts which remained with India. The former, consisting of about a quarter million loose sheets, are the official records of the Secretariat, Civil and Military, of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his successors. They cover a period of thirty-eight years of Sikh rule, from 1811 to 1849, and are arranged in four groups: *viz.*, (1) *Daftar Fauj*, (2) *Daftar Mal*, (3) *Daftar Toshakhana* and (4) *Daftar Jagirs*. The District Records received from



Lahore Durbar Seals



Letter addressed by Dewan Mul Raji, Governor of Multan, and Raja Sher Singh to Cis-Sutlej chiefs inciting them against the British on the eve of the Second Anglo-Sikh War (1848)

Lahore consist of over 20,000 case files (*mislats*) of the districts of Karnal, Ambala, Gurgaon and Simla. These papers form a veritable mine of information on the early growth and organization of the British administration in the Cis-Sutlej territories.

The rest of the materials in the Office have been acquired from various official as well as non-official sources. The Office has devoted its attention from the beginning to the centralization of the non-current administrative records from the divisional and district headquarters and large bodies of such papers have been accessioned. An important acquisition consists of the English and Persian correspondence pertaining to the old Delhi and Hissar Divisions and the Commissionership of Ambala, ranging from 1803 to 1916. These papers contain records of the Political, Judicial, Revenue, Education, Military and General Departments. Further, records have also been brought to the central repository at Simla from different districts of the State. They cover the period from 1820 to 1919 and are in English, Urdu and Persian. These deal with socio-economic surveys of villages, revenue and judicial matters, and territorial changes.

The Punjab Government has also transferred to the Office the records of the Liaison Agency which was set up at Lahore to handle the gigantic task of evacuation of the non-Muslims from the West Punjab and the adjoining areas consequent upon the Partition. These papers will prove to be of immense value for writing on the tragic happenings of 1947.

The acquisitions from private sources include manuscripts and family archives. Some of these have been received as gifts from their owners and others have been bought by the State Government. The outstanding collections acquired are those of Baba Prem Singh of Hoti Mardan and Thakur Chattar Singh of Dharamsala. The first comprises about two thousand objects including manuscripts, paintings, prints, pictures and rare publications. The papers acquired from Thakur Chattar Singh consist of copies of sixty documents relating mainly to jagir disputes between Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu and Kashmir and the descendants of his brother, Raja Dhyan Singh.

In the wake of mass migrations in 1947 efforts were made by the Record Office to acquire all materials of historical and cultural value from among the evacuee properties left in the Punjab (I). The results of the state-wide drive in this connection proved very encouraging and a large number of documents, manuscripts and old and rare books were saved from destruction and safely deposited in the State Record Office. These include very valuable contemporary chronicles, *Rozanamchhas*,

Safarnamas, local histories, copies of some outstanding works pertaining to the Sikh and Mughal periods and scores of richly illustrated and illuminated manuscripts of literary and cultural interest.

Microfilm Library

It is proposed to make the Record Office a centre of research for the history of the Punjab and the neighbouring territories. With this object the Office has taken up a scheme for acquisition of microfilm copies of all materials on the history of the State available in the National Archives of India, the other State Record Offices in India and foreign archival repositories and libraries. The execution of the plan has been given an encouraging start and with the co-operation of the Government of India microfilm copies of some important series of records in the National Archives of India have already been made for the Office. It may be mentioned here that the main series of English records, *viz.*, Political Correspondence, in the Secretariat Records Office of the united Punjab were not partitioned and were retained at Lahore. Collateral series of those records which are available in the National Archives are being microfilmed to fill the gaps created by the retention of the Political Correspondence in the West Punjab.

Survey of Historical Materials

Survey of records and other historical materials in the State as well as the neighbouring areas form an important feature of the work of the Record Office. This is not confined to records in official custody; it extends to the wider field of materials in private possession. Publicity for the exploration of records and manuscripts owned by individuals, families and organizations, is carried on through correspondence, press notes and reports on the work done by the Office. For obtaining necessary information and carrying out detailed examination of the collections in private custody the Keeper of Records and the technical staff of the Office visit various places and they do their best to ensure the proper preservation and utilization of these materials. During the last few years several manuscripts, documents and relics in the possession of notable families have been discovered and acquired by the Record Office.

Preservation and Rehabilitation of Records

Careful attention has been paid to the organisation of appropriate archival services at the State Record Office. Apart from the necessary measures to prevent damage to and deterioration of records sustained efforts have been made to introduce scientific methods and modern

techniques for the rehabilitation and repair of damaged and deteriorated materials. Some members of the staff entrusted with the preservation work have received advanced training at the National Archives of India. The Office has been equipped with the requisite appliances and the personnel engaged in the preservation work has been initiated into the latest practices. The repair processes adopted at the State repository conform to modern standards. In addition to the traditional methods of repair with chiffon and tissue paper the new technique of rehabilitation with cellulose acetate foil is employed for repair of manuscripts written with water soluble inks.

Reference Library

The reference library attached to the Office contains nearly 14,000 old, rare and out-of-print publications, standard works on history and reference books, including government publications such as gazettes, administration reports of committees and commissions, State and Central Legislatures debates, gazetteers, district, provincial and imperial, and reports on periodical surveys undertaken by the state and central governments. Efforts have been made to bring together as much secondary and reference materials as might be required by the staff and research scholars for background study. It is, however, being maintained exclusively as a departmental library and its use is restricted to Government Agencies and *bona fide* scholars.

Historical Museum

As a popular and instructive adjunct of the Record Office a historical museum has been organised. In the main hall of the building manuscripts and documents of general interest, pictures, paintings, sketches and prints, illustrating important historical events and portraits of notable personages and outstanding cultural relics have been displayed in showcases, revolving stands and along the walls of the building. This has been felt necessary both for the sake of saving important relics from decay and for providing cultural interest and intellectual stimulus to the intelligentsia as well as the general public. The most outstanding exhibits in the historical museum include paintings of the Durbar of Maharaja Ranjit Singh with all his principal Counsellors, portraits of prominent persons connected with the history of the Punjab in the 19th century, sketches of significant historical events such as the Anglo-Sikh wars and the Great Rebellion of 1857 and numerous old prints depicting the princes and peoples of India.

Research and Publications

To promote research on the study of the vast and varied historical materials and records concentrated at the State Record Office facilities are afforded to *bona fide* scholars and suitable rules governing access to them have been adopted. Necessary guidance and assistance is given to the researchers by the Keeper of Records and his staff. As a result of the generous facilities afforded to them the Office is being resorted to by an increasing number of post-graduate students and other scholars. Frequent inquiries are also made by those scholars who intend to do research regarding various subjects of study on which substantial materials are available at the State Record Office. To promote historical studies information about fresh acquisitions and the different categories of records in the Office is regularly supplied to universities and learned institutions through periodical reports and circular letters. The State Committee for writing the History of Freedom Movement in India is making full use of these materials.

The State Record Office has formulated an integrated publication programme which includes publication of selected records *in extenso*, monographs on important aspects of the History of the Punjab based on original records, outstanding manuscripts, press-lists and calendars of documents. Since its inception four monographs, *The Lahore Durbar* by Dr. R. R. Sethi ; *The Punjab Under The Lawrences, 1846-58* by Dr. N. M. Khilnani ; *An Historical Interpretation of the Correspondence of George Russell Clerk, 1831-43* by Dr. Inder Krishan and *Siyahat-i-Kashmir, March-June 1846* by Mr. V. S. Suri ; have been issued in the series "Punjab Government Record Office Publications".

Even though set up barely seven years ago the State Record Office of the Punjab (I) has assumed the functions of a well-organised and fairly well-equipped repository of non-current records and historical materials and effective efforts are being continued for its further growth and development. It is planned to provide for it a permanent functional building at the new capital of the State as early as possible. Uptodate fittings and fixtures are proposed to be installed therein. The new Office will be equipped with a lamination press for rehabilitation of records and micro-filming and photographic cameras for speedy reproduction of records and other materials. On the completion of its development plans the State Record Office is expected to become a modern archival repository and it will be able to serve more efficiently the cause of archives and history in India.

THE ARCHIVES OF A LITTLE KNOWN KINGDOM

IN the accounts of the political structures of India, one hardly comes across the name of a kingdom which cast its sway over a large part of the western coast for two centuries and a half, which strenuously endeavoured to stabilize Hindu culture, and which played a significant part in the history of India's international relations. This was the kingdom of Keḍadi, also called after its two other successive capitals—Ikkeri (1560) and Bednur (1639). Its founder was Caudappa Nāyaka (1499-1513). But it was only under his able son Sadāśiva Nāyaka (1513-1545) that this principality rose into prominence as a province under the great Hindu Empire of Vijayanagara. It remained subordinate to that Empire till the days of Sadāśiva Nāyaka's grandson Venkaṭapa Nāyaka I (1582-1629), who was the first independent ruler of the Keḍadi royal house. In the reign of the last ruler Queen Virammāji (1757-1763), the widow of Basavappa Nāyaka II, it was subverted by Haidar Ali Khan of Mysore (1763). Thus, its existence as a kingdom may be said to have lasted for 250 years (1513-1763).¹

Not only from the political and cultural points of view is this kingdom important, but it is noteworthy also from the point of view of the history of Indian Archives. It was the connecting link between the great Hindu mediaeval Empire mentioned above, and the modern political experiments that were in the process of formation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in India. This might perhaps explain why, so far as the archives are concerned, while it carried on the traditions of that mediaeval kingdom, it introduced two new ideas which were undoubtedly modern in concept. These refer to the definiteness of royal orders and the stress laid on reference as an integral part of archival maintenance.

The Keḍadi kings wisely continued to use the two mediaeval media of archival expression—copper plates and stone inscriptions, but added to them a third medium—paper, which in Western and Southern India seems to have taken a long time to make headway as one of the materials for archival purposes. Their ingenuity lay in adapting paper to both the mediaeval types of archival materials. Taking some random examples from the numerous records of these monarchs, which were first published in 1902, we may note how in A.D. 1606, when king Venkaṭapa Nāyaka I granted certain specified custom dues for the maintenance of a Śaivite temple, which were collected in all the custom houses (*thāṇas*) of his kingdom, he had the gift written in "this firm

¹ Rice, Lewis, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 156.

śāsana" (*endu bhadra śāsanava baradu*) of the copper plate type.³ The idea of having an order inscribed on copper plates and then of giving such an order to the donee is seen, for instance, in 1671 A.D. when king Somaśekhara Nāyaka I caused to be written and gave to Harugol Mudalinga and other boatmen of the Tungabhadra river in Shimoga (*Simoge Tungabhadrā-nadiya harugola Mudalinga muntāda ambigarige barasi koṭṭa tāmra śāsana-kramav*).⁴ It is true that the concept of definiteness as expressed in the term "caused to be written", or its variants, is visible in the ancient and mediaeval Hindu archives ; but what was an innovation in the Keladi times was the idea of writing and despatching official records. Thus, in 1718 King Somaśekhara Nāyaka II wrote and despatched to his officer Rāyappa a certain order (*śrimat Keladi Somaśekhara Nāyakaru Rāyappage barasi kaļuhida nirūpa*), relating to the grant of rent free land that was to be made to the two sons of the herdsman Gauļoji of Honnāli fort, who had killed a tiger that had committed ravages in the Balaūr fort.⁵ It may be observed in this connection that this record is a stone inscription, and as such, the technical expression "wrote and despatched" mentioned in the stone epigraph is particularly significant. Since the royal order had to be despatched to a distant State Official, it had obviously to be written on a material which could be conveyed by a human agency. Such a material could have been either a palmyra leaf, which was certainly in vogue at that time, or paper which was making itself felt in this part of the country. In all likelihood the material was paper, as will be evident from the facts given below.

Stone archives were as common as copper archives in the Keladi kingdom. Excepting in certain details, the beginning, middle, and ending of the two types of archives were almost identical. In both the types there were the introductory verses which usually contained an invocation to the gods, followed by the name of the king who gave the order, the name or names of the donees, the details of the grant, the names of the witnesses, usual final verses, and, finally, the signature of the monarch. Thus, for instance, the copper plate archive dated in A.D. 1641, began with an obeisance to Śambhu followed by the name of the king, Virabhadra Nāyaka, the name of the institution to which the grant was made, the Lingāyat *maṭha* of Bhadrāpura in Bhuvanagiridurga built by Durga Timmaṇṇa, the details of the grant relating to the customs due of certain centres, the divine witnesses like the sun and the moon, etc., and concluded with the signature of the king, thus *Srī Venkaṭādri*.⁶ The concept

³*Epigraphia Carnatica*, VIII, Sa. 123, p. 117.

⁴*Ibid.*, VII, Sa. 3, p. 4.

⁵*Ibid.*, VIII, Sh. 128, p. 38.

⁶*Ibid.*, VIII, Tl. 49, p. 173.

of divine witnesses (*deva-sākṣi*) which one meets with, for instance, in the above grant as well as in a grant dated A.D. 1667,⁶ is sometimes replaced by the concept of worldly witnesses (*loka-sākṣi*) as in the endowment dated A.D. 1764.⁷ Of course neither of these concepts was introduced for the first time by the Keṭadi kings. We meet with both the concepts in earlier records on stone as well on copper plates.

That the Keṭadi kings had their own system of reference by which they could get the necessary details for renewing old orders, or for issuing new ones in case the originals were lost, is evident when we note how they proceeded in the matter of renewing and confirming earlier grants. We cited above an order dated 1641 in which the grant of certain specified customs duties was made to the Lingayat *māṭha* in Bhadrāpura built by Durga Timmaṇṇa. Fifty three years later (1694) Queen Chennammāji, on the original list having been lost (*ā paṭṭeya sīthilavāda sambandha*), renewed the earlier charter and gave a new one mentioning the names of the citizens of the locality.⁸ That such grants were not necessarily issued without levying fees is evident from a later record dated A.D. 1702, which refers to the same Lingayat *māṭha* referred to above. In this record we are informed that the above Queen's son Basavappa Nāyaka I gave to the same *māṭha* (at Bhadrāpura), the village of Marugasur (location given in detail) as a gift after having received from the *māṭha* 1097 thus— $901\frac{1}{2}$ *varāha* being the price of the land received from the assembly (*mahattinavara kāiyalli kraya*) and $195\frac{1}{2}$ *varāha* for having written the royal decree (*śāsanav barisikoḍuva bage*).⁹ Usually grants of land or of custom dues were made on application which again proves that some kind of an archival procedure existed in the Keṭadi kingdom. Two examples may suffice in this connection. In 1711 a citizen named Mariyappa's son Śāntavirappa having applied that a *śāsana* (royal order) may be granted for freedom from certain specified tolls (*śāsanava barasi kodabek endu Mariyappanvara [maga] Śāntavirappanu helidarinda*), king Basavappa Nāyaka I remitted certain tolls.¹⁰ It is related in a copper plate archive dated 1723 that king Somaśekhara Nāyaka II's father-in-law Nirvāṇayya having applied to the king that a *śāsana* might be written for granting certain property to the Lingayat *māṭha* in Karagal, Someśekhara Nāyaka granted the villages of Uḍikere (location given) as an *uttār* to the *māṭha*. Even in this case the person who had built the

⁶ E.C. VIII, Tl. 65, p. 176.

⁷ Ibid., VIII, Tl. 70, p. 177.

⁸ Ibid., VIII, Tl. 46, p. 172.

⁹ Ibid., VIII, Tl. 79, p. 179.

¹⁰ Ibid., VIII, Tl. 177. The statement in the English translation "Mariyappa and Śāntavirappa having applied" is erroneous in the light of the text which clearly states that Śāntavirappa was the son of Mariyappa. See *ibid*, text p. 508, line 6.

maṭha had to give to the State 2250 *varāha* only for a certain portion of the land in the same village. The statement *svāstiyānū aremaneḥa vāle māḍikodṇu*, as given in the text, clearly suggests again a reference to the maintenance of records in the Keṭadi palace.¹¹

A record dated A.D. 1719 is particularly interesting in this context. It is a copper plate archive issued by king Somaśekhara Nāyaka II and sent to his administrative officer Rāmappa. Unlike other copper plate archives of the period, it enters into the subject matter of the grant peremptorily with the date, thus *Vikārisamivatsarada Kārttika ba.* 5. And then it proceeds at once to mention that on that date king Somaśekhara Nāyaka wrote and sent for Rāmappa (the following directions) to be carried out (*Śrīmat Somaśekhara Nāyakaru Rāmappage barasi kaṭuhida kārya*). The details of the grant are next given. We may incidentally note that for issuing the grant, 594 *varāha* 1 *darāna* had to be paid by the party to the palace (the State). The endowment was conveyed through the royal servant Giriya who, summoning all the people of the locality, made the grant. The concluding portion of this copper archive is most interesting. It runs thus—" . . . and causing this paper (*kāgada*) to be entered in the Senabova's account book (*kaḍita*), will return it to that Marideva (the donee of the grant). Śrī. True Copy (*yū-kāgadava Senabovara kaḍitakke barasi tirigi yū-Maridevara vaśakke koḍuvad āgiśrī yathā prati*)."¹² By the first quarter of the eighteenth century, therefore, the use of paper came to be associated with the copper archives, and with that special form of archival material called the *kaḍita* (or *kaḍata*) concerning which we shall mention a few words presently. But before we do so we may observe that the above record is significant from four points of view:—Firstly, it confirms our assertion that there was a certain definiteness about the Keṭadi archives. Secondly, it tends to support the view mentioned above that the Keṭadi kings levied fees in return for gifts of land or of tolls. Thirdly, it signifies the emergence of paper as an archival material. And, fourthly, it proves beyond doubt that the Keṭadi kings clearly understood the distinction between a true copy (*yathā prati*) and the original which was entered in the royal registers (*aramaneyā vāle*).

The procedure followed in copper archives was the same which was observed in stone archives of the Keṭadi kingdom. This is evident when we examine the stone inscriptions of the period. An inscribed stone found at Jambāni, Sāgar tāluka, Mysore State, and dated A.D. 1672, and

¹¹ E.C. VIII, Tl. 87, p. 181. See also text p. 583, line 33. The exact monetary term used in these records is *gadayaṇa*, shortened into *ga*.

¹² *Ibid*, VII, Kp. 46, p. 46; text, p. 327.

issued by a nobleman named Baru Botapa Nāyaka, is relevant to the issue before us. It registers a specified grant of land by that nobleman to Queen Chennammāji's teacher Basavappa. It ends thus—"This paper will be entered in the Senabova's *kaṭata* and returned to the possession of the donee," (*yī kāgadav Senabovana kaṭatake barasi tirigi yivana vāśakke koduvudu*). The names of the donees and of others follow.¹³ That this was, indeed, the official method of writing similar stone archives is proved by a stone epigraph of the same date but issued by Queen Chennammāji to the Halepayika Jambāni Hucha. The concluding portion of this damaged record is interesting. It runs thus—that the deed be reported to the Presence (i.e., the Queen) (*ā-vivarakte hujūra baravadu yī-kāgadav Senabova . . .*).¹⁴ Another grant recorded also on stone by the same ruler dated in the same year (1672) but given to Jambāni Timma ends in a similar manner, thereby proving conclusively that the paper copy of the gift after being entered in the Senabova's *kaṭita*, was to be returned to the donee (*yī-vivarakte hujūra baravudu yī-kāgadava Senabovara kaṭitakke barasi tirigi yivara vāśakke koduvudāgi*).¹⁵ Here we have the fact of the Keṭadi rulers' using their archives for reference purposes.

Another stone archive dated A.D. 1686 substantiates the conclusions we have arrived at above. It proves that the Keṭadi kings broke new ground in the sense that, so far as the beginning of their stone and copper plate archives was concerned, they could dispense with the traditional method of opening as it prevailed in the mediaeval times, and commence their orders peremptorily. We have already given the example of a copper archive dated A.D. 1719. The stone archive dated A.D. 1686 enables us to assert that by the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the Keṭadi rulers had already broken away from their mediaeval predecessors in this detail. The damaged stone inscription in question found at Hire-kesavi, Sohrab tāluka, Mysore State, abruptly starts with the name of the Queen thus—“*Srīmat Keṭadi Chennammājiyavaru*.” It then mentions the name of the donee and the details of the gift, and concludes by saying that “having this paper entered in the Senabova's *kaṭita*, will return it to him, dating the order (specified) (*yī-kāgadav Senabovara kaṭitakke barasi tirigi yivana vāśakke koduvahāge*). Then follows the date only in the cyclic year, thus—*Kṣaya samvatsarada Bhādrapada śu.10*.¹⁶

The reign of Queen Chennammāji, the widow of Somaśēkhara Nāyaka I (1663-1671), witnessed the stabilization of the archival procedure so far as the Keṭadi records are concerned. The Kallēsvara temple stone

¹³ E.C. VIII, Sa. 16, p. 94; text, p. 255.

¹⁴ Ibid, VIII, Sa. 17, p. 94; text, p. 255.

¹⁵ Ibid, Sa. 18, p. 94, text, p. 256.

¹⁶ Ibid, VIII, Sa. 548, p. 89.

Inscription found at Chikka Jambūr, Shikārpur tāluka, Mysore State, and dated A.D. 1691 is very important in this connection. It opens directly thus—Copy of the order (*nirūpa prati*) issued on the date (specified in detail). It then merely mentions the name of the Queen Cennammāji, and then proceeds to narrate the details relating to the donee, his work, and the grant made to him. The gift of land was made in the presence of all the people of the locality. The archive ends thus—"Cause this paper to be entered in the Senabova's *kaḍita* and return it to the donee; to be brought into effect from the date (specified at the beginning of the record). The order ends." The names of three officials are then given—Rangaṇṇa, the headman of the district (*nāḍiga*); Lingabhaṭṭa, the local astrologer; and Śivarāmaṇṇa of Tāraka, the Senabova of the village.¹⁷ Three special features noticeable in the above archive, which are not found in some of the other archives cited above, are the following—firstly, the archive begins with the statement that it is a copy of an order dated in that year (1691); secondly, it affirms that from that date the grant is to take effect; and, finally, the order is declared as closed (*nirūpa band*).

The use of paper in the Keṭadi archival repositories to which we have referred to above, is further proved by other stone inscriptions from which we may cite the following. A stone record found at Ānevatti, Sohrab tāluka, Mysore State, and dated only in the cyclic year *Dundubhi, Māgha śu.5*, but assignable to A.D. 1743 of the reign of king Basavappa Nāyaka II (1739-1754) concludes in the same manner, thus—"This paper will be copied into the Senabova's *kaḍita* and returned (*yī-kāgadav Senabovana kaḍitakke barasi tirigi koduvudāgi*)."¹⁸ Two stone records, one of which may be assigned to A.D. 1757, and the other of which is dated A.D. 1758, not only substantiate our statement made above in regard to the copying of the royal order in the royal registers but also give a detail in regard to the number of pages which were to be given to the donees. Both these stone records were found at Kodihalli, Shikārpur tāluka, Mysore State. One of them which opens merely with the blessings of Siddappa Nāyaka to a Bhairappa Nāyaka, records the reward given to Basavappa Nāyaka of Kodihalli for a certain gallant action. It concludes thus—"The order is now confirmed. Petitions of this kind from the country for payment of money are not to be made. This *vāle* will be entered in the Senabova's *kaḍata* and returned. *Vale I.*" (*kaṭṭu māḍiside. sīmeyalli yī-bage hāna barabek endu keṭalāgadu yī-vāle Sena-*

¹⁷ E.C. VII, Sk. 79, pp. 56-57. The words *nirūpa band* occur in the Kannada text on p. 168, line 29, but not in the translation on p. 108.

¹⁸ Ibid., VII, Sk. 354, pp. 62-63.

bovara kadatakte barasi tirigi koduvadāgi vale I.)¹⁹ The statement "vale I" at the end is significant: it confirms our assumption made above that the idea of definiteness and easy reference in the Keṭadi archival procedure had taken deep root in the country. The other stone record also found in the same place, but dated A.D. 1758, is a royal decree issued to the same donee Kodihalli Basavappa Nāyaka by the king Somaśekhara Nāyaka III, and in the same connection as the one mentioned in the previous record. The ending of this record is identical with the previous one.²⁰

We have now to explain certain technical archival terms which were then in vogue in Western India, and which have figured in the above inscriptions of the Keṭadi rulers. These are *vālc*, or *ole*, *kadita* or *kaḍata*, *nirūpa prati*, and *nirūpa band*. The item *nirūpa prati* means "a copy of an order," and the term *nirūpa band*, "the order stops." *Vālc* or *ole* means a palmyra leaf, and the term *ole* means one page or one leaf of a book of palmyra leaves. The term *kadita* or *kaḍata*, was given to a folded book of cotton cloth, covered with charcoal paste, on which people wrote as if on a slate with a style of potstone (*balapa*). It was liable to erasure but it formed a durable record. A *kadita* was usually rolled into a bundle and hung in a room. This was the recognized method of preserving Government records and accounts; and it continued to be so till the beginning of this century.²¹ That the use of *kadita* was prevalent in this part of India even in the twelfth century is proved by a record dated A.D. 1136 in which we are informed that the great Hoysala monarch Viṣṇuvardhana after conquering the Banavase Twelve Thousand Province, wrote about it in his *kadita*.²²

After having learnt some details about the archival procedure and materials in the Keṭadi kingdom, as gathered from its official records, we may now see whether proof from other sources is available to substantiate their evidence. We may select two sources—literary evidence as gathered from contemporary Kannada works; and the evidence of foreign travellers who visited the Keṭadi kingdom. That there was, indeed, a Record Office in the capital of the Keṭadi kingdom is proved by two references in the well known Kannada *kāvya* called *Keṭadinripavijaya*. This sober poetical narrative which contains innumerable historical details about the Keṭadi kings, was written by the poet Lingaṇṇa, who

¹⁹ E.C. Sk. 209, p. 128, text, p. 294.

²⁰ Somaśekhara Nāyaka III was the adopted son of Queen Vīrammāji. This record really falls within the limits of the reign of that Queen. E.C. VII. Intr. p. 43, Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 160, E.C. VII, Sk. 210, pp. 128-129.

²¹ *Ibid*, V, p. 244, and note (1); Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 172.

²² *Ibid*, V, Bl. 17, p. 48; Rice, *ibid*, p. 172.

seems to have lived in the reign of Keṭadi king Basavappa Nāyaka II (1739-1754).²³ While describing certain events, the author twice mentions the *kaḍitada cāvadi* in the same context.²⁴ Evidently the reference here could have been to what in modern terminology may be called a Record Office.

Now it is interesting to observe that the existence of this office is proved by Peter Mundy who, while describing the events of A.D. 1637 as witnessed by him in Ikkeri, refers not only to the prevalence of books of palmyra leaves but the instrument that was used for writing on them, and, what is more important, to the King's Secretaries regarding one of whom Peter Mundy would style as the Master of the Rolls. The two passages in his narrative are the following—"Hereaboutts we saw a sort of Palme trees, whose leaves in this Country are used instead of paper to Write uppon. It is like the Cocotree in stemme and leaves, butt the Coco-tree, the Datetree and sundry other off thatt kind off leafe and body (as Farre as I could see) have onely one stemme each. This had many towards the toppe, coming out like so many boughes, each with a tuft of leaves. I never saw any before, except one at Goa which they there call Palma de Matto or Wild Palme. Neither indeed Did I thinck there [had] bin any such." Then, again, Peter Mundy continues in a later context, thus—"The Country people write on Palme leaves with an Iron bodkin, as before mentioned. They say they will edure 100 yeares. Att my beeing att Eecary I was att the King's Secretaries, where in his house I saw many hundreds (I may say thousands) of those written palme leaves beeing very long and Narrow, handsomely rouled uppe, those againe tied into bundles, hung upp in order about his roome or office, seo thatt hee May (not improperly) bee stiled Master of the Roules."²⁵

Another European traveller who visited the Keṭadi kingdom earlier than Peter Mundy, and who has given us a graphic description of this part of the country, was the Italian observer Pietro della Valle who writes thus about Ikkeri in the reign of Venkaṭapa Nāyaka I (1582-1629)—"November the three and twentieth. Before my departure from *Ikkeri* I was presented by Vitula Sinay (of whom I had before taken leave) with a little Book, written in the Canara language, which is the vulgar tongue in Ikkeri and all that State. It is made after the custom of the Country, not of paper, (which they seldom use) but of Palm-leaves, to wit of that Palm which the *Portugals* call *Palmum brama*, i.e., Wild-palm, and is of that sort which produces the Indian Nut ; for such are those commonly

²³ Linganna, *Keṭadinripavijaya*, Intr. p. vi. (Ed. by R. Shama Sastry, Mysore, 1921).

²⁴ *Ibid.* op. cit., p. 102.

²⁵ Peter Mundy, *Travels in Europe and Asia*, III (i), pp. 98-99. (Hakluyt's ed.).

found in *India*, where Palms that produce Dates are very rare. On the leaves of these Palms they write, or rather engrave, the Letters with an Iron style made for the purpose, of an uncouth form : and that the writing may be more apparent, they streak it over with a coal, and tye the leaves together to make a Book of them after a manner sufficiently strange. I, being desirous to have one of these Books, to carry as a curiosity to my own Country for ornament of my Library, and not finding any to be sold in the City, had entreated Vitula Sinay to help me to one, but he, not finding any one vendible therein, caus'd a small one to be purposely transcrib'd for me, (there being not time enough for a greater) and sent it to me as a gift just as I was ready to take Horse.

"What the Book contains I know not, but I imagine 'tis Verses in their Language, and I carry it with me, as I do also (to show to the curious) divers leaves not written upon, and a style, or Iron Pen, such as they use, together with one leaf containing a Letter Missive after their manner, which was written, by I know not whom, to our Ambassador ; . . ."²⁶

The above accounts substantiate the evidence of Keladi archives in regard to the use of palmyra leaf books, the style used for writing on the *kaditas*, and the existence of a Record Office at Ikkeri. As regards the fate of the Record Office at Ikkeri, we may only guess. When Haidar Ali Khan of Mysore attacked Ikkeri in 1763, the last ruler, Queen Virammāji is alleged to have set fire to the palace before taking to flight.²⁷ If this is true, it is not improbable that the Record Office of the Keladi kings at Ikkeri was destroyed in A.D. 1763.

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²⁶ Pietro della Valle, *The Travels in India*, II, pp. 290-292 (Ed. by Edward Grey, London, MDCCXCII).

²⁷ Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 160.

XEROGRAPHY

A REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS FOR DOCUMENT REPRODUCTION

IN the field of document reproduction mimeography (stencil duplication), hectography (spirit duplication), photography (with all its manifestations through the Photostat, contact copying, microfilm, photostencil, diazo materials etc.), and offset lithography have all been used to meet widely different needs in reproducing a large variety of documents. But while the simpler methods have not been universally satisfactory, the versatile methods of photography have not afforded a simple and quick means of reproduction. The development of methods of documentary reproduction has never before been marked by an invention so strikingly novel in principle and simple in execution as a new process that originated in the U.S.A. in recent years. Its name is Xerography—from the Greek 'xeros', meaning dry, and 'graphos', to write. It is revolutionary as it needs no sensitized paper, no dark room, no messing with chemicals or elaborate washing in running water as in photography, nor does it employ greasy inks like the other duplicating methods. The process yields quickly clean and dry prints which are permanent and indelible.

The author had the opportunity of seeing the process in operation first at the annual convention of the American Library Association at Minneapolis, Minnesota, U.S.A., in June 1954, then in the Ford Motor Company's Engineering Division near Detroit, the library departments of the Universities of Chicago and Wisconsin, and a few commercial establishments elsewhere in the U.S.A. Later in October 1954 he studied the latest developments of the process first hand in Rochester, N.Y., U.S.A., at the headquarters of the Haloid Co., who have commercially developed the system under the trade name of XeroX.

Xerography, based on the principles of photoconductivity, triboelectricity and electrostatics, was first invented in 1937 by Chester F. Carlson, a patent attorney and a graduate of the California Institute of Technology. It was further developed by workers in the Battelle Memorial Institute of Columbus, Ohio, U.S.A., and later commercially sponsored by the Haloid Co., manufacturers of photocopying apparatus and photographic papers. The process is essentially electrical and completely dry. A thin layer of amorphous selenium, a photoconductive element, deposited on a metal base, is given a static positive charge at a high tension. Once charged the selenium will retain the charge for quite

some time until exposed to light. If the charged plate is then made to receive a light pattern, say, an image of an illuminated document formed by a lens, the charge disappears from those areas of the plate affected by light but is retained by the image areas corresponding to the dark characters or lines on the document. Thus an electrostatic 'latent image' is formed which can now be developed into a powder image. The 'developer' is an inexpensive dry black resinous powder consisting of fine granules of a 'carrier' (of the order of .025" in diameter) to which adhere much finer particles of the pigmented 'toner'. The 'carrier' and 'toner' substances are so chosen that friction between them gives an effective negative static charge to the toner (triboelectricity). When the exposed plate is cascaded with this powder in a light-proof tray the 'toner' particles are attracted by the latent image pattern of positive charge. The next step is the transferring of this laterally reversed powder image to a sheet of ordinary paper placed in contact with the plate. A positive charge imparted to the paper 'pulls out' the particles from the plate to produce the 'xerocopy' on the paper. The image is fused in position by baking the xerocopy in an electric oven for a few seconds (see figure 1). The copy is now permanent and ready for use. The whole process takes less than three minutes.

The XeroX plate which has lost all but a residual trace of the powder image is now cleaned with a special non-abrasive powder and it is ready for re-use. Carefully handled and kept free from scratches, abrasions, finger-prints and moisture the selenium coating on the plate can be used several thousand times without replacement or re-treatment, which means the depreciation on the plate chargeable to each xerocopy is negligible. As for the developer, just a pinch of the pigmented 'toner' has to be added to the 'carrier' beads for every ten or twenty copies. The entire developer, the 'carrier' beads and 'toner' particles, has to be replaced only once for every 200 reproductions or so. The whole process is quite inexpensive and the actual recurring cost per reproduction is little more than the cost of an ordinary sheet of office or typing paper.

Instead of a sheet of ordinary paper the xerocopy can be obtained on a paper plate (like the Duomat, Rotamasta, Mutilith etc.) and used as a master in an offset duplicating machine for running off several hundred copies. In fact, it has been proved, for instance, by the printing department of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, U.S.A., that xeroxed paper masters give sharper and cleaner copies and can be used for longer runs than the conventional greased-ribbon-typed masters. Where the original can be reproduced as it is there is the absence of human errors likely in the manual typing of the master and consequently there

is no need for checking and correction; and there is the additional advantage of securing reproduction of manuscripts, line drawings, graphs, charts, tables, etc., which are impracticable in offset duplication without resorting to a process camera.

Similarly, using a xerocopy obtained on a translucent paper as an intermediate master, copies can be obtained by any of the diazo processes of duplication like the Ozalid, Retocce, Azoflex, Bruning Copyflex, Paragon Revolute etc. Large governmental, commercial and industrial establishments, libraries, laboratories, information bureaus and similar bodies which have an offset or diazo machine may dispense with stencil duplication altogether in reproducing circulars, forms, notices, reports, minutes etc. besides using the process for large scale duplication of technical documents.

The xerographic equipment as manufactured by the Haloid Co. comes in three units: the Camera, the Copier or Processor and the Fuser. The Camera (model No. 1) employs a fixed-focus f/12.5 lens of extreme wide angle (4 $\frac{1}{4}$ " focal length) to provide size-to-size copies of documents. The maximum size of the documents the Camera can take in is 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 13", which is the fixed size of the selenium coating on the plates. Illumination is provided by four reflector flood lamps of 250 watts each in the enclosed camera box. A pressure-platen holds the matter flat and face down on the glass top of the camera. Another type of camera (model No. 4) resembles a process camera and is capable of giving images at 50% to 150% of the original size. This has a f/10 process lens of 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ " focal length with an electrically operated shutter. It has a copy board 17" x 22" to take medium size flat documents. An Easel Attachment to handle magazines and thin books is available to go with the copy board. Focusing is done either visually on ground glass or by calibrated settings on the focusing racks. Both the types of cameras have automatic electric timers for exposure from 0—60 seconds.

The Copier, the latest model of which is the 'Lithmaster Processor Model X', houses the charging chamber, the developing tray and the cleaning tray. In the charging chamber, the Xerox plate and later the transfer paper are charged by corona discharges from a system of fine wires at a high potential (about 8,000 volts) sweeping along and just above the plate. The developing tray contains the developer powder. The exposed plate is fitted into the tray, and the tray, along with the plate, is pulled out on its extendable racks, and swivelled about, so that the powder is cascaded over the plate. In the cleaning tray the residual deposit of powder image is removed from the plate by the cleaning powder. There is also space on the top of the model for storing six

XeroX plates, each in its light-proof holder and dark-slide, and several sheets of copy paper or offset master.

The Fuser is a rectangular electric oven between the two hot plates of which the xerocopy is inserted on a tray for a few seconds' fusing. Because of the rather heavy load of electricity consumed this unit is kept separate.

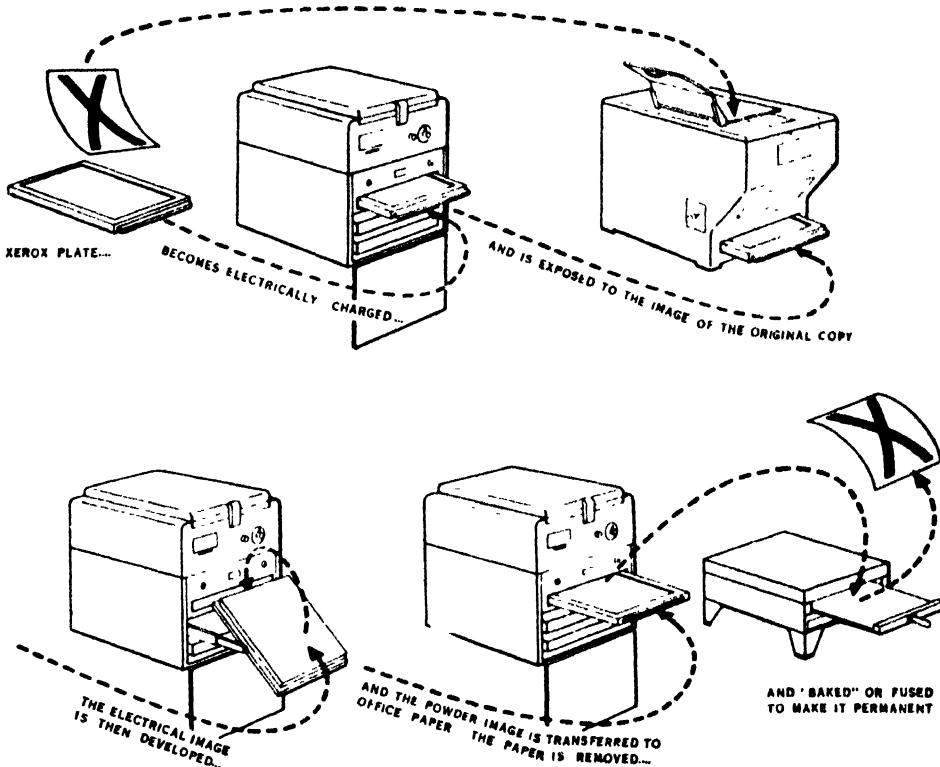


Figure 1
Xerographic Copier
(By the courtesy of Haloid Co., Rochester, N.Y., U.S.A.)

The use of the XeroX equipment presents no difficulty. Highly skilled and experienced personnel are not necessary for its operation though it may take a novice at least a week's observation-training to get the 'know-how' of handling. It is, however, advantageous if the operator has some prior knowledge and experience of photography, as so many dos and don'ts are very much the same for Xerography and photography. The selenium plate must never be touched by hand; any powder sticking to unwanted areas should be erased by a soft ball of fresh cotton wool or a camel's hair brush. This 're-touching' is preferably done on the final xerocopy itself before it is fused.

The equipment is mostly used with loose, flat documents for making either single copies at a time or an intermediate master for multiple reproduction by an offset or diazo method, yielding a positive-to-positive copy. Research was said to be in progress towards an attempt to get a small number of multiple copies from a single heavy charging of the plate and successive transfers onto paper sheets by less intense charges on the paper. An interesting variation was noticed by the author in the Drawings Reproduction Department of the Ford Motor Company's Engineering Division at their River Rouge plant, Dearborn, Michigan, U.S.A., where 70 mm. microfilms of huge machine drawings were projected in a dark-room on a charged XeroX plate and an enlarged white-on-black copy obtained on paper, which was of course smaller than the original drawing but legible and portable. Another variation noticed was Reversal Xerography, i.e. production of a black-on-white positive from a white-on-black microfilm negative provided the original matter contains only fine lettering and lines. In this case, the developer used is a different combination of 'carrier' beads and 'toner' particles whose triboelectric properties are such that the beads generate an effective positive charge on the toner particles by friction. The image areas on the xerographic plate, having lost their charge when a white-on-black image is projected on to it, get a negative charge induced on them by the surrounding solid non-image areas retaining their positive charge. This latent image pattern of negative charge attracts the positively charged particles of developer and forms the transfer image. While transferring, the paper has now to be given a negative charge to pull out the positive particles from the plate. Hence the only changes necessary for reversal development are change of the developer and of the polarity of charge given to the final paper base. It is to be noted that normal xerocopying practice is positive-to-positive and hence the term reversal is applied to negative-to-positive copying, whereas in photography the normal method is negative-to-positive and reversal implies a positive-to-positive copy.

In its earlier stages of development Xerography was not very successful in the rendering of solid areas and half-tones, but recently a 'tone-tray' has been introduced by the manufacturers in their Lithmaster Processor Model X, which reproduces solids and half-tones with acceptable fidelity. Before the introduction of the 'tone-tray', however, good results within limits had been reported by the use of a half-tone screen in front of the plate breaking up the solid and half-tone areas into a fine dot pattern as is done in any printing process.

Colour cannot be reproduced in Xerography, and it is not well suited to a proper rendition, in black and white, of coloured originals, since the

colour sensitivity—rather the photoelectric frequency response—of selenium approximates that of orthochromatic emulsion with predominance in the blue-ultraviolet region. The use of a yellow filter is successful, however, in distinguishing blue lines from a white background or *vice versa*.

As a result of the commercial success of the process, which came to be used extensively in the U.S.A. by university and public libraries, abstracting agencies, government offices, manufacturing firms in the engineering, aeronautical, automobile, chemical, food, optical, petroleum, steel and other fields, transport and utility services, big retail stores etc., the Haloid Co. stepped up their research and development programme with adequate encouragement from the U.S. Government. Consequently ingenious, but rather expensive automatic machines, working on the xerographic principle, have been built. One such is a rotary machine equip-

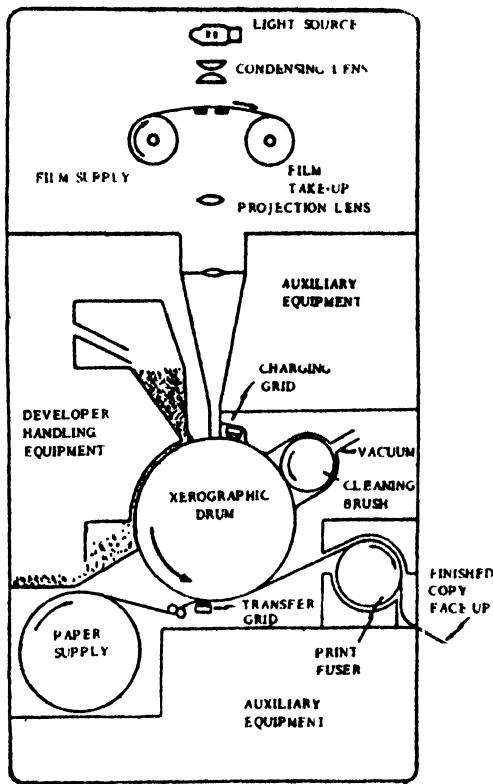


Figure 2
Microfilm Enlarging by Xerography
(By the courtesy of Haloid Co., Rochester, N.Y., U.S.A.)

ped with a rotating selenium-coated drum which produces on a moving roll of ordinary paper continuous copies of a stack of documents fed on an endless conveyor belt. The roll of xerocopy can be trimmed to give the individual copies, while the originals flow into a receiving tray

automatically. Another interesting automaton produces enlargements from a synchronously moving spool of microfilm projecting the image in such a way that there is no relative motion between the image and the moving xerographic drum (the film, of course, moving in a direction opposite to the drum), again on a roll of ordinary paper (see figure 2). The blown-up or enlarged copy up to 10" wide is obtained at the rate of 4" per second or the equivalent of about 1,500 single-spaced typewritten lines per minute. There is no mess, no fuss and no waiting for hours for a thorough washing nor any botheration about hypo-elimination. And the copy keeps well as long as the paper on which it is made lasts—may be even to the satisfaction of archivists. Another version employs the same principle to make permanent moving records of wave patterns of cathode ray tubes used extensively by physicists and engineers in research and industry. In all these rotary equipments the various stages of the process are successively arranged around the periphery of the moving drum so that the whole cycle is completed within its circumference, a spot on the drum receiving the slit image at any instant being ready for re-exposure when it comes under the slit again.

Thanks to the U.S. Navy another million-dollar venture has been developed by the Haloid people in conjunction with the RCA (Radio Corporation of America) Laboratories, named the "CXRG High Speed Electronic Facsimile Equipment". Employing the principle of television, RCA's Ultrafax, produced in 1949, transmitted documents over video frequencies either by coaxial cables or radio relay through long distances, at the rate of about 400 pages per minute. This was achieved by cathode-ray scanning of a microfilm of the matter for transmission at the transmitting end and microfilming the image produced in the cathode-ray tube at the receiving end, rapid-processing it and producing photographic prints in an automatic printer. Cost and time have further been cut by employing the continuous xerographic drum to reproduce the transmitted facsimiles at the receiving end directly from the cathode-ray tube image. Only a heavy traffic load for instantaneous transmission of facsimiles could justify the high capital outlay for such equipment. But where a million dollars or more are poured into pilot-projects—well, that is America!

Summing up, Xerography has the following advantages:

- (1) The amazing process of Xerography affords an easy, simple, quick, cheap and satisfactory means of reproducing almost all kinds of documents.
- (2) It is not restricted to printed or typed copy and can handle manuscripts, charts, drawings, diagrams and the like.
- (3) It needs no elaborate processing nor highly skilled technicians.

- (4) It is admirably suited to cases where, for any reason, the copy is desired not on a specially coated or sensitized paper and the use of a darkroom, liquid chemicals and other paraphernalia are inconvenient or inexpedient.
- (5) It is hard to beat when the copying-time and running-cost per finished copy are considered.

It has its limitations too: (1) If the ultimate in definition and detail are desired it is better one sticks to photographic methods regardless of the time and cost involved.

(2) Colour cannot be reproduced and rendering of half-tones is average in quality.

(3) The process is not a substitute for large-scale duplication by conventional letterpress or offset printing methods.

(4) The size of the reproductions is limited and invariable ($8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 13''$).

(5) The process works satisfactorily under optimum conditions of humidity. But high humidity of the tropics may interfere with the distribution and retention of the electric charges on the plate and the powder. Very dry atmosphere may also cause trouble as the paper would retain much of the static charge on receiving the powder and may not make proper contact with the plate again, if the back side is used for another copy; the heat of the fusing operation may tend to make the paper brittle in a dry atmosphere, especially if it is necessary to make copies on both sides of the paper, thus twice baking it in quick succession.

It is to be noted that the equipment has not yet been exported outside the U.S.A. Even within the U.S.A. it is only being rented out by the manufacturers. Depending upon the type of camera, the rental varies between 75 and 110 dollars p.m. which is an economical proposition under American standards.

K. S. NAGARAJAN

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PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE RUSSELL CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO HYDERABAD, 1783-1852*

SELECTIONS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY RUSSELL WITH HIS BROTHER CHARLES RUSSELL WITH A FEW RELEVANT LETTERS FROM SIR HENRY RUSSELL TO HIS SON CHARLES.

(1) *Henry Russell to Charles Russell (at the Hon'ble Sir H. Russell's, Calcutta), Hyderabad, 21 February 1802*

Eventually Charles Russell is to join his brother in Hyderabad. While at Calcutta he is to study Hindustani under Mr. Gilchrist as his brother had done. Henry Russell will teach him Persian later.

(2) *Sir Henry Russell to his son Ensign Charles Russell at Hyderabad, Calcutta, 31 July 1803*

Regrets that he has been unable to get him a Writership.

(3) *Sir Henry Russell to his son Ensign Charles Russell at Hyderabad, Calcutta, 18 September 1803*

Congratulates him on being promoted to the rank of Lieutenant. Hopes he will get into the diplomatic line.

(4) *Sir Henry Russell to his son Ensign Charles Russell at Hyderabad, Calcutta, 12 January 1804*

His mother is returning to England as she feels unable to stand another hot weather.

(5) *Henry Russell to Charles Russell (at Hyderabad), Calcutta, 24 May 1804*

" . . . to the southerly Gale which has prevented the Fleet from being able to sail as soon as we expected, I am indebted for my Share in the important Question of selecting a Successor to A.U.O. [Amir-ul-Umara]. You will have been surprised to hear that the Governor General has resolved on recommending Meer Allum to the Soubahdar, and on supporting that Recommendation with the Authority and Influence of the British Government ; and you will be still more surprised to hear that

*The second instalment of this article appeared in *The Indian Archives*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, July-December, 1954, pp. 135-63.

Meer Allum is indebted to me for his Elevation. Immediately on the Arrival of the Resident's Dispatch of the 8th, I was sent for to the Government House, and was desired to give my Opinion on the Measures which it would be advisable to take. It was soon resolved that Secunder Jah must appoint *some Person* to succeed A.U.O., but Edmonstone thought that the Selection ought to be left to himself; and Lord Wellesley expressed some Doubts of Meer Allum's Affection towards us. I gave a decided Opinion that a Minister ought to be recommended by us, and that Meer Allum ought to be the Man; and the Arguments which I urged in support of this Opinion, appeared to have so much Weight, that I was desired to draw up a Paper on the Subject. It having been resolved that some Person must be appointed, it only remained to discuss the Point under two Heads. 1st, Whether it would be advisable to request H.H. the Soubahdar to nominate a Successor to A.U.O., and to object to that Nomination as often as the Person who might be nominated should be essentially disqualified for the Office; or whether it would be desirable that the British Government should recommend a Minister. And 2ndly who should be selected for the Office. The Resident's Despatch arrived on Monday, and my Paper was sent in to the Government House on Tuesday morning. Lord Wellesley immediately took the Subject into Consideration, and the following two Notes, in His Lordship's own Hand, on the Margin of my Paper, will prove to you the extent of its success.

'This Paper is extremely creditable to Mr. Russell's Judgement, Diligence, and Knowledge of the affairs of the Court of Hyderabad.'

'A Minister must be recommended by the British Government; and the Recommendation must be supported by the British Influence and Authority. Meer Allum is the only person qualified for the Office, or disposed (according to our best Information) to exercise it in the Spirit of the Alliance. He must therefore be recommended. In the mode of proposing the Recommendation, a great Occasion will be afforded for the Address of an able Negotiator; and, with due management, the Recommendation might not appear odious to the Degreee supposed. At all events Meer Allum must become the Successor of A.U.O. and the Appointment cannot be delayed.'

(6) *Sir Henry Russell to Charles Russell, 22 July 1804*

"... If Meer Allum be well affected to our Government as I really believe he is I entirely agree with Harry in thinking him the fittest person to be Minister to the Nizam."

(7) *Sir Henry Russell to Charles Russell, Calcutta, 3 June 1805*

. . . The Rank of the Judges is regulated by the Charter establishing the Supreme Court which contains the following clause—

'and we do hereby give and grant to our said Chief Justice, Rank and precedence, above and before all our subjects whatsoever, within the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa excepting the Governor General for the time being of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, and excepting all such persons as by Law and usage take place in England, before our Chief Justice of our Court of King's Bench. And we do hereby also give and grant to each of our said puisne Justices respectively, according to their respective priority of Nomination, Rank and precedence, above and before all our Subjects whomsoever, within the said provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, excepting the Governor General, our said Chief Justice of our said Supreme Court of Justice at Fort William in Bengal, and all and every such Member or Members of the Supreme Council there, as shall respectively, by priority of nomination, be senior or seniors to such respective puisne Justice or Justices, and also excepting all such persons as by Law and Usage take place in England before our Justices of the Court of King's Bench.' . . ."

(8) *Sir Henry Russell to Charles Russell, Calcutta,
9 November 1805*

Begs him to transfer from military into civil employment as promotion will be more rapid.

(9) *Henry Russell to Charles Russell, Chicacole, 6 March 1806*

Has written to his father to try and get the office of Postmaster at Hyderabad for Charles, but his father has replied that the time was inopportune to approach Barlow.

(10) *Henry Russell to Charles Russell, Calcutta, 18 August 1806*

" . . . Sir George Barlow is the last Man in the World who could be prevailed on to transgress the orders of the Court of Directors. He has hitherto obeyed them, because he could hope to retain the Government only by the same Deference to the Directors through which he got it; and he will obey them now, because he looks up to a Pension from the Company as the only means by which he can support his Family in England . . ."

(11) *Henry Russell to Charles Russell, Calcutta, 30 August 1806*

Wonders how long Sir George Barlow will remain Governor-General. " . . . By an American ship that arrived a few Days ago, English Papers have been received down to the 15th of April. They contain a great deal about Lord Lauderdale; and the Directors and Proprietors seem to have made so bold a stand against Mr. Fox's Attempt at Innovation, that he may ultimately find the contest a more arduous one than he expected. Even Mr. Fox's own Friends and Adherents in the Direction have opposed him on this Occasion; and private Letters of considerable Authority, state that the Measure of removing Sir George Barlow passed by only one Vote in the Cabinet, and that Lord Minto, the President of the Board of Controul, declared the Plan had never been mentioned to him, until after Mr. Fox had communicated his Intention to the Directors. Sir George and his Friends, and indeed all the People here, seem to be divided in their Opinions. Some think that Mr. Fox will prevail; others that the Resistance of the Directors will be successful; some that a third Person, perhaps Lord Minto, will be appointed; and some that the Business will be compromised by allowing Sir George to stay here a short time longer, and then appointing Lord Lauderdale to the Government. For my own part, I scarcely know what to say, but I cannot help thinking that Fox, who, like all Men that support the Cause of Liberty out of Power, are most arbitrary when they can be so, will never consent to be defeated by the Directors. And if he is resolved to stretch the Prerogative to the utmost, nothing of course can resist him . . ."

(12) *Sir Henry Russell to Charles Russell, 8 January 1808*

" . . . To give you my opinion on your trading speculation: in the first place I do not think it creditable to a young man to get money by means which he thinks it necessary to conceal; next I think it very probable that your speculation may fail: or if it succeed that you may be cheated; thirdly I think it incompatible with the high Spirit and nice Honor of a Soldier to descend to the groveling Gains of Trade; and lastly I think your Appointments more than adequate to any reasonable expectations of gain. This I say upon the Supposition that you are appointed first Assistant, and postmaster. I have not heard that your appointment has in fact taken place, perhaps it will not till the Government know that Harry has left Hyderabad: at all events you cannot be disappointed as Lord Minto promised me that you should succeed your Brother . . ."

(13) *Henry Russell to Charles Russell, 16 April 1808*

" . . . Of course you will write immediately to the Begum,¹ and make out for her, from my Mother's Letter, such an Account of her dear children as will be likely to be pleasing and satisfactory to her . . . "

(14) *Sir Henry Russell to Charles Russell (1st Assistant to the Resident in Hyderabad), 26 December 1808*

" . . . They have been so expensive at home, that of late I have saved hardly any thing: in the year 1807 I remitted home £10,000, and in 1808 £5,040, and still I fear your Mother is in debt."

(15) *Henry Russell to Charles Russell, Madras, 4 January 1809*

" . . . I think with you decidedly that the Death of Meer Allum has effectually dissipated the Danger which the Begum had to apprehend at Hyderabad and has removed the only obstacle that existed to her Return there. From Mooneer ool Mook or from any Person now living I do not think that she has anything to dread . . . "

(16) *Sir Henry Russell to Charles Russell, 13 August 1809*

" . . . Is the late Col. Kirkpatrick's Begum at Hyderabad, or Masulipatam? When the monsoon changes, and ships touch on the Coast, I will send a picture of her children . . . "

(17) *Sir Henry Russell to Charles Russell, 11 September 1809*

" . . . I am sorry that any Blood should have been shed, before the submission of the Hydrabad Force could have been known by the Troops that were advancing to Seringapatam: but God knows whether it may not be for the best, that if consequences of so dreadful an Insurrection, should have been in some degree felt by the Insurgents; it will make them more cautious how they rebel in future . . . "

(18) *Sir Henry Russell to Charles Russell, Calcutta, 29 October 1809*

" . . . I can form no judgment on the plan you propose for laying out your money, except from the information whch. you give me. I therefore must refer you to your own Judgment to guide you. If you can

¹ The *begum* of James Achilles Kirkpatrick (1764-1805). Kirkpatrick who was Resident in Hyderabad died in 1805 while on a visit to Calcutta. Henry Russell was very interested in this beautiful young *begum*. She was related to Mir Alam the Nizam's minister. Her children by Kirkpatrick were sent to England to be educated and she never saw them again. *Vide Constance Russell's The Rose Goddess*, p. 1, (London, 1910).

get your money removed from Calcutta to Hyderabad on advantageous Terms, and if when you shall want to remit it to England you can remove it from Hyderabad, to some place of remittance to England, I think you cannot be wrong in lending it as you purpose. So much do I approve of your plan, that if you think it advisable, and if it be also practicable, I will send some of my own money to be lent out by you at Hyderabad at 12 pr Ct pr Ann., but then I must know on what Terms I can remit it to you, and by what means, and on what Terms I can get it from there when I want to take it home with me. Write to me on this Subject. I should like to remit, by Degrees, one lack to Hyderabad . . .”

His brother Frank is very idle and went sick instead of sitting his Persian examination, and was bottom of the list in Hindustani.

“ . . . He has neither pride, ambition, nor Shame . . . Mr. Moir, Lord Minto's most confidential companion, arrived from Madras the other day, and assured me that your Conduct at Hyderabad, during the late disturbances, and particularly your accompanying Col. Close to the Camp, and your report of what passed there, had done you infinite Honor ; and that you was a great favorite both with Lord Minto and Sir George. This makes me very proud . . .”

(19) Henry Russell to Charles Russell, Poona, 4 April 1810

Encloses copy of letter he has sent to Lord Minto.

“My Lord,

I have lately heard, and from a Quarter which is entitled to some Degree of Credit, that it is probable Colonel Close may soon express a Wish to resign the Residency at Poona. This Event is so much connected, either immediately or ultimately, with the Attainment of my most important Views in Life, that I am sure I need not assign any other Reason to Your Lordship, either to justify or excuse the Anxiety I cannot help feeling upon the Subject of it . . .”

(20) Sir Henry Russell to Charles Russell, 19 April 1810

Has forbidden Frank his presence. Is afraid Close will be returning to Poona and that Henry will be sent back to Madras. Hopes they will all get promotion under Lord Minto as he may not have any influence with the new Governor-general whoever he may be.

(21) Sir Henry Russell to Charles Russell, 23 April 1810

“ . . . Your Mission to Madras is of so arduous and delicate a nature, that I am full, both of Hopes and Fears, with respect to the

consequences of it. I do not see how you could have refrained becoming Sydenham's Ambassador to the Governor General, but I hope your Zeal for your Friend will not induce you to vindicate measures, which if they can be excused, can never be justified. Your Conduct during the Mutiny at Hyderabad did you great Credit, and I know met with the approbation of Government. I hope nothing will induce you to lose the Ground which you have gained; of course you communicated to Harry your intended Journey to Madras, he would be able to give you very good advice. I hope he did, and that it had weight with you. Should Sydenham be removed I think Harry would be appointed to succeed him. In that case I think it ought to be your object to be sent acting Resident somewhere, perhaps to Poona . . ."

(22) *Henry Russell to Charles Russell, 12 May 1810*

Lord Minto has accepted Sydenham's resignation. Encloses two letters.

(a) *Lord Minto to Henry Russell, Madras, 2 May 1810*

" . . . You have heard, I know, of the unpleasant enquiry into some part of Captn. Sydenham's conduct, to which his correspondence with Lt. Coll. Doveton produced at the Court Martial, has given occasion, and of your Brother's Mission to the Presidency. He has acquitted himself of a very delicate Commission with friendly fidelity and zeal, and with ability which do him personally great honour. But after a very mature and anxious consideration of the explanation furnished by Captn. Sydenham I have been under the painful necessity of avowing that my mind is not satisfied of the propriety of Captn. Sydenham's conduct on the principle points which were objected to it. On communicating these Sentiments to your Brother, he acquainted me that he was instructed by Captn. Sydenham to tender the resignation of his office at Hyderabad, and to request earnestly, that it might be accepted.

"It is become necessary therefore to appoint his successor, and it has required no reflection to decide that no Person can fill that Station with equal advantage to the Public, as yourself . . ."

Henry Russell is to be relieved at Poona by Elphinstone. Charles Russell has been appointed acting Resident at Hyderabad.

(b) *Henry Russell to Lord Minto, Poona, 12 May 1810*

Thanks Lord Minto for appointing him Resident at Hyderabad which has always been his ambition.

(23) *Sir Henry Russell to Charles Russell, 20 May 1810*

Frank's debaucheries have made him ill.

" . . . I find his Extravagance has involved him in enormous Debts, amounting to not less than 40,000 Rupees"

(24) *Henry Russell to Charles Russell, Poona, 24 May 1810*

Must organize an efficient secret intelligence service in Hyderabad.

(25) *Henry Russell to Charles Russell, Poona, 31 May 1810*

" . . . Palmer must go too. But perhaps the management regarding him may be so delicate as to induce you to defer it altogether until my arrival"

(26) *Henry Russell to Charles Russell, Poona, 16 August 1810*

" . . . I have no Views but those of purging the Residency of the Vermin by which it is infested. Palmer's Conduct has rendered it improper, upon public Grounds, that he should stay where he is"

(27) *Henry Russell to Charles Russell, Poona, 19 August 1810*

" . . . The Notions you seem to have got about Palmer's Claims and Consequence are to me quite incomprehensible. You will have seen, by my last Letter, how firmly I am resolved not to have any Share, directly or indirectly, in the Arrangements he may make for leaving Hyderabad. If I had wanted anything to confirm me in that Resolution, I should have found it in your last letter. The Aurungabad Plan is inadmissible upon every Account : and I wonder that Palmer should even have had the Effrontery to propose it. The other Plan of extorting a large Sum of Money from Chundoo Loll, and retiring upon the Fruits of his Industry to Calcutta, he may accomplish if he can ; at least I shall not say or do anything to prevent it before I receive the actual Charge of the Residency. The Eminence of his Situation, so far from increasing, in my Mind, his Claim to an Equivalent, is the very thing that I complain of, and constitutes the chief Objection I have, against his remaining at Hyderabad. That Eminence is improper in itself, and must have been attained by improper Means, let the Person who raised him to it be who he may : and, although it may therefore be entirely consistent, that I should take him down from it by Means equally improper, it certainly is not right that I should do so, and for that Reason alone I will not do it. I have no personal Resentment against Palmer. I can have none. The warmth with which I express myself, and the

Harshness of my Determination (if it should appear to you to be a harsh one) proceed exclusively from my Notions of publick Duty. If I could properly assist in promoting Palmer's Views, I should be glad to do so, both from the Respect I have for his Father and because I approve of the Way in which he means to dispose of the Money he may receive from Chundoo Loll. But my respect for his Father cannot make me forget my Respect for Myself; nor will the End to which the Money is to be applied justify the Means by which it is to be obtained. The only Terms upon which I can consent to Palmer's remaining in the Nizam's Dominions at all, are, his leaving Hyderabad, his giving up all Connexion and Correspondence with People in the City, and his retiring into the Condition which the other most respectable Europeans in the Nizam's Service hold, and which is the only Condition I will ever permit any of them to hold. If Palmer says that he cannot do this, he confirms my Opinion of the improper Height of his present Condition. His having departed from his proper Line, is no reason why I should depart from mine; and, of the two, I think it much better that his Demands should fall to the Level of what I think right, than that my Notions should be formed up to that of his inordinate Expectations. I confess that my Hair stands on End when I hear of such a Creature's demanding Two Lacks and Twenty Thousand Rupees to induce him to quit the Nizam's Service, over and above all the Advantages he has had while he has been in it! You say that this Sum does appear very large, but that Palmer has settled a good deal on his Mother and Brothers. That Circumstance is creditable to Palmer, as a son and a Brother; and, if the Scales hung nearly even, would certainly induce me to throw my Influence in on his Side. But, as to the Fairness or Unfairness of the Demand, (the only Point there is for us to consider) it does not weigh a Rush. The Demand is radically exorbitant, and nothing can make it otherwise. As to the Details of the Sum, I think that the Lack of Rupees is the Price of a Man's own Property, which Palmer has sold to himself, after having had the Usufruct of it as long as he could keep it. The 30,000 for his House and Gardens, is a fair Demand, if they are worth it. I care not who buys the House, but nobody shall ever live in it who is not under the Protection of the British Flag . . . The 10,000 Rupees for the Arms is reasonable, if the Arms are of that Value. But of the 80,000 Rupees, for two Years and a Quarter's Pay in advance, Palmer, I think, will be a Rogue if he demands it, and Chundoo Loll, I am sure, will be a Fool if he pays it. A Man's Wages are given for Services either actually rendered, or supposed to be rendered by him. But what service can Palmer render, in a Situation

which I, thinking it an improper one upon public grounds, and mean, upon those Grounds, to do away? If I cut down the Tree, what right has he to look to the gardener for the Fruit? . . ."

Palmer is to be told that Henry Russell disapproves for public reasons of the situation he holds in Hyderabad.

(28) *Henry Russell to Charles Russell, Poona, 29 August 1810*

Apparently Charles Russell has written that he considers that Henry Russell has been too harsh on Palmer.

" . . . Chundoo Loll certainly must not be allowed to go too far down Hill. But it will be better for you to tell the Governour General how fast he is going, rather than to hold out your own hand to stop him, *except in the last extremity*. If Matters come *actually to the Push*, I would, in your Situation, tell both the Nizam and Mooneer ool Mook, formally, that 'Chundoo Loll has always conducted the Duties of his Office in a Way to deserve the Nizam's Favour and Approbation: that his Conduct, after a Trial of many Years in Publick Life, has acquired for the Administrations to which he has belonged, both the Confidence and the Applause of the British Government and that you are persuaded the Governour General would view with great Regret and Dissatisfaction, the Adoption of any Measures by which the Administration of the Nizam's affairs and the common Interests of the alliance should be deprived of the able, Zealous, and useful Services of Chundoo Loll.' A Representation of this kind, delivered firmly, with an Intimation that you should report everything to the G.G., and call for his Instructions, would I think frighten both the Nizam and Mooneer ool Mook, and stop their dirty Intrigues . . ."

(29) *Sir Henry Russell to Charles Russell, 25 October 1810*

Apparently his son Frank Russell has been granted six months leave of absence from College and is at Hyderabad with his brother Charles.

" . . . it is *absolutely necessary* that he should acquire both the Persian and Hindoostanee Languages. What will be the best plan of Study for that purpose you will recommend to him, and I hope he will follow your advice. But there is much more to be done than the acquiring of Languages: he must acquire a veneration for Truth, and a Contempt of all Deception; he must lay aside the manners of a Stable and a Dog Kennel; in short he must acquire the manners and sentiments of a Gentleman. Till he has done that, I shall never think of him but with pain and Disgust, and whilst that is the Case, I can never admit of any Communication with him . . ."

(30) *Henry Russell to Charles Russell, Poona, 6 February 1811*

" . . . I return Colonel Mackenzie's Letter to you. It certainly is a very desirable Object to have an accurate geometrical Survey of the whole of the Nizām's Country ; and it may be done easily, I think, if it is done discreetly and in Detail. Your Notions upon the Subject seem to me to be perfectly correct. To attempt an avowed Survey of the Nizām's Country, and to apply to him for Permission to do so, would be the surest way in the world to defeat your own Purpose. If you tell him what you want, he will make a Point of frustrating you. To be done at all, it must be done without his knowledge ; at all Events without saying anything about it. There should be no hurry, no Fuss, no Multiplicity of Establishments. The Surveyors should be able, and they should be discreet too. They should not only know their own Business, but they should know how to conciliate the Natives, and how to avoid exciting their Suscisions. They should also be few in Numbers, and attempt Little at a Time . . . "

(31) *Henry Russell to Charles Russell, 1 April 1811*

" . . . The Influence of State at Hyderabad is so powerful, that I mean on all Occasions to keep up as much of it as I can. The State I am travelling in will give me a good deal of Eclat : but to produce the full Effect, the State of my Entrée must be consistent with it. If I travel in greater State than my Predecessors, I ought to arrive in greater State too. I think it will be well, therefore, that the whole of the Regiment of Cavalry, should meet me at Golconda, and that, besides the Guns, there should be a complete Battallion drawn up to receive me at the Residency. Until I get near the Residency, I shall be at all Events on Horseback ; but I wish you to ascertain from [those] learned in these Matters, whether it will be better for me to go all the Way on Horseback, or the last part of it on an Elephant . . ." He has been absent from Hyderabad for three years.

(32) *Henry Russell to Charles Russell, 3 April 1811*

Encloses list in Persian of a *ziyafat* (ضيافت) brought to him by a village. " . . . I did not like to reject it altogether, and therefore have accepted what I have marked on the Back of the List, and returned the Remainder . . . "

On the reverse side of the list : "Kept

Flour ...	1 Maund
Ghee ...	13 Seers
Sheep ...	5
Fowls ...	10 Seers,"

(33) *Henry Russell to Charles Russell, Hyderabad, 22 November 1811*

Is sending him Sir John Malcolm's *Political History of India*.

" . . . The whole Tone of it, like almost everything Malcolm ever wrote, is extremely good natured : and considering in how many of the Transactions he relates he was himself personally employed, it is extremely modest too. In this Respect it is less characteristick. But in all the Main Points of a Book I think it is very deficient. It consists necessarily of Narrative and Reasoning : the one is tedious and perplexed ; and the other almost everywhere flimsy, diffuse, and full of repetition. He tries his Strength chiefly where he examines Sir J. Shore's Policy in abandoning the Triple Alliance ; but though his reasoning there is long, it seems to me to be made so only by saying the same Thing over and over again. The Parts I like best are the Introductory Chapter, the Account of Ld. Cornwallis' first Administration, and *some* of the General Reflections at the End. The rest smells too strong of Incense to Lord Wellesley. This perhaps is rather an ill natured Criticism ; but one can no more abuse a Man or a Book without some Asperity, than one can make Punch without Lemons . . ."

(34) *Henry Russell to Charles Russell, Hyderabad, 30 November 1811*

The Pindaris have crossed the Narbadda in great force.

(35) *Sir Henry Russell to Charles Russell, 62 Wimpole Street, London, 25 January 1816*

" . . . I hope you will continue to go on pleasantly with Palmer's House, and that, if he be entrusted with any of our money, he will be prosperous. I believe there is no more harm in him than there is in all half Casts ; they will be occasionally vicious. The diminution of your Fortune and mine is to be lamented ; for the expense of living in England is not to be conceived. The furnishing my House, which I have done elegantly ; and the portioning Kate, which I must do liberally, have reduced my Finances very much: but by Keeping as much of my property, as can be prudently kept, at Hyderabad at 12 pr Ct Interest, I hope in a short time to be recruited. The landed Interest in this Country is at present in so depressed a State (as you will see by the papers) that if all our money were now in England, I would not buy Land. Things must be more settled before I take so important a Step ; for the present I shall keep my Money in the Funds, hoping that they will rise ; and I recommend it to Harry and you to

keep every Rupee you can save, in India, and there to make of it as much Interest as possible ; for I think that he should not return to England (provided health should not require it) without being able to lay up £100,000 ; and I think you should lay up £80,000. With prudence and vigilance this may be done in a few years . . .

"When the Nepal War is completely at an end, which by this time I hope it is, I agree with Harry, that the Pindarris ought to be completely subdued, so as to prevent their annual and destructive incursions ; but I doubt whether the governor-general has funds to enable him to do it. I every day see reason to lament that Lord Wellesley was not allowed to proceed in his active Career, till he had subdued the whole peninsula of India : he would soon have done it, and we should have kept it at a comparatively small expense to that which we now incur, and our revenues would have been prodigious. The Company do every thing in a little way . . ."

(36) *Sir Henry Russell to Charles Russell, 62 Wimpole Street, London, 28 April 1817*

Refers to Henry Russell's marriage and hopes Charles Russell will not marry Clotilde's sister.

" . . . Should you too marry a French woman, and a Roman Catholic, our Family would almost cease to be English and Protestant . . ."

(37) *Charles Russell to Henry Russell, 74 Welbeck Street, London, 20 February 1823*

"My dearest Henry,

"You know I have often told you that I felt some anxiety about our connexion with Palmer's house and it seems by the enclosed letter from Currie that my anxiety was not altogether unfounded. The foolish ostentation and extravagance of Sir Wm. Rumbold could not fail to excite attention and provoke the spirit of hostility which has been so actively at work both in Calcutta and in the direction against everybody and everything connected with Hyderabad. They must in the end soon affect the credit and solvency of the house. From John Palmer's general and unsatisfactory mode of stating the case we can only conjecture what circumstances have lead or were leading to the disclosures he mentions. It may be that the Govt have directed or were prosecuting some investigation or it may be that the house itself is tottering. Either circumstance might involve disclosures. In the first case they might be partial from the veii which Palmer would have a right to throw

over his affairs. In the latter case they would be complete as the house must make a full exposure of their affairs. On the 14th Septr. the date of Holroyd's letter a month later than John Palmer's nothing appears to have been known at Hyderabad. In the case of a failure I suppose we are secure from the claims of the creditors by our Secession. In either case we are safe from the censures of the directors by having quitted the service. But nothing can protect us from the law if the Company brings us into a court of justice. It is penal I believe for us to engage in such transactions at all. It is penal to lend money to native princes without a specific authority, and the rate of interest is penal. I have not heard a whisper on the subject here but it is very improbable that I should. Before I got this letter I thought Edmonstone's manners both at the India House and in Portland Place dry and reserved. It is quite impossible to make any enquiries. Surely Palmer or Rumbold would write to you on such a subject. May it not be adviseable to lose no time in requesting Holroyd to get constant information from Palmer and to send us copies of any papers which may pass. It is late, but it may still be in time in the event of there being references backwards and forwards . . .”

(38) *Henry Russell to Charles Russell, Sutton Park,*
21 February 1823

Fears that their connection with the Palmer Company may be revealed.

“ . . . With respect to the present Firm, their original Constitution was in the year 1815, after you and I had withdrawn ; and it was then only that any instrument in the shape of a deed of partnership was drawn up. Palmer, I remember your telling me, shewed it inadvertently to you ; and if the disclosure were to extend to that only, it would affect Currie and Sotheby, but not you or me . . .”

(39) *Charles Russell to Henry Russell (at Sutton Park near Biggleswade Beds), 74 Welbeck St., London, 24 February 1823*

“My dearest Henry,

“I returned late yesterday from Bath and found your letters of the 21st and 22nd at my lodgings. My anxiety has been fully as great as yours and if I am becoming more easy, it is because my mind is getting more familiar with the danger ; and not because I think it less. I know not to which cause to attribute the disclosures to which John Palmer in his cruelly unsatisfactory letter refers—Whether to the enquiries of the Govt or the insolvency of the house, but I think

I rather incline to the latter opinion. If any recent investigation had been instituted which had led to disclosures I think Palmer or Rumbold would have felt themselves bound by honour as well as by friendship to put you on your guard : but if their pecuniary difficulties are likely to lead to disclosures they would of course preserve silence till the last. Any investigation would in all probability be conducted through Metcalfe and the supposition that he has made the disclosures is not consistent with Holroyd's assurance that he is your true and very sincere friend which seems to be founded on some recent proof of Metcalfe's sentiments —and lastly if any inference is to be drawn from J. Palmer's ambiguous phraseology it is that the house is likely to be involved in pecuniary difficulties which as a merchant he would disclose very warily. On the other side we have the knowledge that the Directors did order some enquiries some time ago and we do not know satisfactorily to what result they led. Under any circumstances however it is of the highest importance to establish some means of information at the India House. For there lies the danger that threatened us from whatever cause the disclosures may proceed and there the evil must if possible be encountered for in a court of justice I fear we could not encounter it effectually. I had been turning the matter over in my mind in the coach yesterday. Good information can only be got from a Director. Of the directors who were most kind to you in your last business Edmonstone would I think be kind and active if we were in actual difficulty but he is too scrupulous and wary to give us information beforehand . . . Campbell's kindness appeared to me to proceed in a great measure from feelings of general good will and good nature and he appeared least strict about communicating Intelligence. He therefore if anyone is your man. What do you think of calling on him and saying that from letters you have received from India you had reason to believe that measures of active hostility in what quarter you did not know were still operating against you and putting it to his liberality and good feeling to give you what information he possessed or could obtain on your assuring him solemnly that you would not use it but with his permission and approbation. You would judge from his mode of receiving this whether it would be wise and safe to pursue the matter by putting leading questions regarding Palmer's house. This appears to me to be the only feasible plan of getting good information at the India House. You will judge better of it by your personal knowledge of Campbell. If any thing is done it should be done soon or our first intimation of designs against us may be a most unpleasant one. Besides it is easier to prevent mischief than to cure it, particularly in the court of directors. I will be down

with you on Wednesday by the Stamford or by a post chaise if I cannot get a place . . .

"I have just had a very long and satisfactory conversation with Jones. When he left Hyderabad early in August no investigation either had been or was likely to be instituted into the affairs or constitution of the house. The house and Metcalfe were at open war. This battle was about the debt which the Nizam's Govt. had incurred previously to the sanction of the Govr. Genl. being obtained, amounting as Jones supposes to about 24 lacs of Rupees, and running at an enormous interest. This Metcalfe wanted to pay off. The house resisted and were supported by the Govr. Genl. Metcalfe very publicly expressed his indignation. At Madras Jones first heard that the house was tottering and immediately withdrew all his money. . . . The clamour at Madras against the *usurious* character of their Transactions was very great. The house were using a very high and imperious tone with Metcalfe. This may do very well while Lord Hastings continues in the govt. but with a new govr. genl., there will be a crash unless it takes place before. . . . Since writing the above I have a letter from Holroyd . . . which contains the following passage, 'It is reported here that Sir William is going home and that the company have disapproved of the house.' This again looks threatening and it is after Jones left Hyderabad. Good bye.

Ever affectly Yrs.
C. Russell."

(40) *Charles Russell to Henry Russell (at Sutton Park near Biggleswade Beds), 74 Welbeck St., London, 22 March 1823*

"My dearest Henry,

"Powney sent to beg to see me this morning. He told me that Salmon when he had first seen him had said that he had an indistinct recollection of some letter regarding Palmer's house: and that he would endeavour to recall the circumstances to his mind. Powney saw him again yesterday when he told him 'that he had seen the letter which was written to Lord Hastings by accident. That it appeared that there had been some disputes about the affairs of Palmer's house, in which Lord Hastings had supported the house. That the Court in consequence called for all the correspondence and wrote one of the most severe and most able letters he had ever read to Lord Hastings. That they had at first determined to recall Rumbold and the two Palmers; but that on further consideration they found that impracticable, in consequence of the Palmers being natives of India and that they had therefore confined themselves to writing the above mentioned letter.'

"Powney asked him if you were in any way alluded to ; and he said he was so much engrossed by the severity of the censure on Lord Hastings that he had not attended to anything else—but he thought that having vented their displeasure in this way it was very improbable that any further steps should be taken, and that he recommended you to consider the matter as quite passed by, and to set your mind at rest. Salmon spoke also very contemptuously of the Court and said that if you had originally sanctioned the proceedings from an unconsciousness of their tendency, and had withdrawn your protection on discovering it he thought you might 'snap your fingers' at them. But he recommends you to keep very quiet and to take no steps whatever until you had precise and specific intelligence ; and then if you went to anybody to go at once to the chairman. Powney asked him to suggest any mode of getting information and he said 'it would be very difficult indeed,' as the whole business was in the 'Secret department' and it had been quite by accident that he had seen the former letter. I asked Powney if he knew the date of the letter to which Salmon alluded. He said he did not ; but he should think it was some time ago. I have no doubt that this refers to quite an anterior stage of the business ; and that the letter Salmon saw was probably the cause of the suppression of the Aurungabad branch of the business . . . I do not understand distinctly nor could Powney tell me what Salmon meant by the 'secret department'. If he meant the 'secret Committee' I should think that neither Astell or Edmonstone had access to the matter, and if he meant a secret branch of the corresponding committee, Edmonstone would not have any knowledge of their proceedings. —So that it is difficult to account for their personal conduct to us, unless the directors are in the habit of communicating to each other what passes in the secret department. This knowledge however we certainly gain from Salmon's communication that the matter is considered secret and that it is in the power of the directors to keep it so unless they choose to adopt proceedings which will render it public . . ."

(41) *Henry Russell to Charles Russell, 24 March 1823*

" . . . If the disorder of the Nizam's affairs should be urged against me, I shall, in justifying myself, be obliged to go into the Circumstances of the last war, and the Negotiations for the Treaty at the close of it ; and in so doing, I should expose our gross Violations of Treaty, and scandalous dishonesty towards the Nizam, which, if it occurred to the Directors in time, I think they would be very solicitous to conceal. They have no objection whatever to the Nizam's being plundered, provided the booty goes into their own pockets . . ."

(42) *Charles Russell to Henry Russell, 29 July 1823*

"My dearest Henry,

"I have just been with Brownrigg. He met Ravenshaw at dinner the other evening and had a long and interesting conversation with him about Hyderabad. It appears that all the correspondence which passed between Metcalfe and the Govt. about the house had been suffered to accumulate and that it had only lately come home altogether. It comes down to the despatch in which the govt. calls upon William Palmer to give up the names of all those who had been concerned with him and to surrender his accounts. The answer to this despatch had not been received but it is that answer to which the Court of Directors look for the important information which they expect. We knew, though they did not, that Wm Palmer had refused to give up the names though he had surrendered the accounts. What those accounts may exhibit is still a question but Brownrigg remains of opinion that they will not contain any disclosures of persons. Ravenshaw has talked of there being strange mysteries about these Hyderabad affairs and persons being connected with them who ought not to have been. Mr. Currie he said had been proved to be so connected though he did not mention how they derived their knowledge. Brownrigg told him, it was impossible to mistake him, that he of course meant to say that you had been concerned. He said such as opinion certainly prevailed . . . He asked Ravenshaw what reason they had for supposing you had been concerned. He said it was so suspected certainly and that the very large fortune which you had brought home was a most extraordinary thing . . . Ravenshaw said that there was one bill on them alone for an enormous sum for upwards of £80,000, and that |,| Brownrigg said, with the exception of a few thousand rupees which you had left for the payment of pensions |,| was all you possessed in the world, which considering the situations you had filled was not so large a fortune as you might have had. Ravenshaw said if he could believe that it would very much alter his view of the subject . . . Brownrigg said he does not think he satisfied Ravenshaw on this point though he has no doubt that what he said would have its effect. In speaking of Currie, Brownrigg had said that his being a partner was no violation of the Regulations, and that Currie had practised no concealment for he had published his secession from the house in the public papers. But what said Brownrigg could you do to him if this were not the case. Why nothing said Ravenshaw, but it would shew strongly the necessity of Metcalfe's measures. The general result of this conversation appears to me to be that though rumours and suspicions are very prevalent at the India House they have as yet formed no course

of action nor proposed to themselves any object. I infer this from Ravenshaw's answer to Brownrigg's question of what they could do to Currie. Brownrigg mentioned also another circumstance which I do not quite like. He asked me if my father had any connection with the house. I said at once that he had a sum of money in it in your name at the legal interest of 12 per Cent. Because he said one of his partners, Lambert I think the name was, who gets information for him at the India house had told him that he heard we were all concerned and that old Sir Henry too had had some interest. This may be mere conjecture or it may be it may have been known that my father was a constituent of the house or it may have been that the presents from Chundoo Loll may have appeared in some of the accounts. I begged Brownrigg to be very much alive to any thing he might hear about my father as it would be a sad thing if any rumours should touch him. He said he had not paid much attention to it—and that he did not think it could be more than idle talk among the underlings as Ravenshaw in his conversation, though he spoke openly of you, never alluded to my father's name nor had Marjoribanks ever done so. Though the Court have not yet got the acc'ts. which govt. latterly called for they have got the account of the loan which was formerly forwarded by Metcalfe, for Ravenshaw appeared to know all the particulars of the Bonus, of the separate acct etc. I do not think Astell's not returning your visit can have been intentional. I meet Marjoribanks often in the streets and he is always very civil in his manner. John Elliot will have told you what a hash Malcolm made about Lord Hastings' dinner and that the Chair, Deputy Chair and half of the directors absented themselves from hostility to Lord Hastings. This shows very angry feelings. I subscribed but did not go . . ."

(43) *Charles Russell to Henry Russell, 74 Welbeck Street, 14 October 1823*

"My dearest Henry,

"I have a letter from Holroyd dated the 20th of May in which he says 'The Govt. here have got an idea—it comes from England from the Directors—that you were formerly a partner in Palmer's house and have desired the Resident to make enquiries and to endeavour to find out if this was the case or not. I do not know myself how this is. Everybody here says it was so. I understood you lent money to Saml. Russell, at all events you received higher interest from it. The Directors will not befriend you if they know you were a partner. Therefore if you can deny it you had better do so if an opportunity offers. At all events they cannot do you any injury I hope. Sotheby we all know was and he has in consequence been suspended the service.'

"Brownrigg who arrived in town yesterday has a confirmation of this account in a letter from Metcalfe written at the same time. He says that the debt is in progress of payment and that he has all the money ready but that there has been much fruitless and inquisitional enquiry into Palmer's accounts in the hope of making them disclose their rougeries which has failed though they have shewn much shuffling and lying. That the Govt. had directed him to report all that he knew respecting the connection between the Residency and Palmer's house and that he had been obliged to do so though he would not betray the names of those from whom he derived his information, and that Sotheby has in consequence been suspended the service. That he thought the Govt. had not used him well in imposing this task on him, but that he believed they were compelled to do so by the orders from home. I have seen Hopkinson. All his letters have been sent on to Scotland, so he learned from me the fact of Sotheby's suspension which he is going to communicate immediately to his father lest he should learn it in any unpleasant way. Now then the worst has happened. The Court must be officially in possession of the fact of our connection and it remains to be seen what line they will adopt. It can hardly be allowed to pass quietly by as the consideration of Sotheby's case will necessarily bring forward the whole question. Their directing enquiries to be made respecting us looks as if they contemplated further measures. Yet what can they do beyond a severe censure? From me they can take my half pay but you they cannot touch except through the means of the law and they will surely not and probably cannot resort to such an extreme measure. In another part of Holroyd's letter he says 'the Rumbolds left us some time ago and I hear he has taken his passage and expects to sail from Madras very shortly.' Hopkinson tells me he is expected every hour . . . This is an unfortunate circumstance and he may do much mischief both by idle discussion and by ostentation. Brownrigg says however that he thinks he has enough cunning to keep quiet. For the present I am sure that is our policy though if they proceed to any public act or any public stigma we must then shew fully and frankly the extent to which we were implicated. Brownrigg says he will do all in his power to ascertain their probable course. O'Brien is in town making a great stir about his removal all of which will unfortunately tend to increase the irritation of the court. Lord Hastings has written a foolish letter to O'Brien in which he attacks Metcalfe and O'Brien has printed this letter with his memorial . . ."

(44) *Charles Russell to Henry Russell, 74 Welbeck Street, 4 December 1823*

" . . . I have kept this letter open till the last thing and in the course

of my rambles I met old Caldwell. He was very kind as usual about you and your boy. In the course of conversation he told me that Genl Hislop had heard from his son at Hyderabad that Metcalfe had been infamously used by Lord Hastings and that he understands his Lordship is implicated in the dealings of Wm Palmer's house ; that Metcalfe would have been removed from his situation if he had not been supported by all the counsellors and that it is fortunate for Ld H. that he was not so removed as in his own defense he would have been obliged to charge his Lordship who it was supposed had had a finger in the pie . . . I told him I thought it would prove that Ld H. might have given too much support to Wm Ps house from his friendship for Rumbold but that I conscientiously believed he had not derived any personal benefit from it . . . The whole of his language which was warm was directed against Ld. Hastings. I mention it though I do not attach much importance to it as I have no doubt his account of the matter is coloured by Sir T. Hislop's rancour against Lord Hastings . . ."

(45) *Charles Russell to Henry Russell, 74, Welbeck Street,
9 December 1823*

Has heard that enquiries are being made concerning Henry Russell's Residency at Hyderabad.

" . . . Still if they have been instituting such enquiries I do not think they have made any thing of them. First, because though it is possible they may charge you, in the building, in my father's visit, and so forth, with allowing too profuse an expenditure of the Mission's money, they cannot charge you with deriving any pecuniary benefit from it. In the second place, though we have received our information through so many various channels, and though, from Holroyd's account of one of the young men's reply to the friend of yours no great reserve appears to be practised at the Residency, no hint of any other specific charge has reached us ; and in the third place, if it had been the case I think Metcalfe would have mentioned it to Brownrigg ; and I do not think he would have said that 'you must have been ignorant of the imposition practised about the last loan or you would not have supported it,' if he believed in the existence of any other circumstances impeaching your integrity . . ."

(46) *Charles Russell to Henry Russell, 74 Welbeck Street,
26 December 1823*

"My dearest Henry,

"I have this morning received your letter of the 24th. You cannot take a more gloomy view of our affairs than I do, though I look with

more anxiety to proceedings in India than in England. In the first place, I still doubt if the court will proceed to the extremity of a criminal prosecution ; but even if they do and obtain a verdict the consequences would not be so serious as the success of the creditors in a civil suit agt. us. I wish you would consult Edward Holroyd more particularly about our liberty. He pointed out one case to us, which would secure us on the score of our not being avowed partners, but is that an isolated case? and does he think generally that we could defend ourselves on that ground? Another ground might perhaps be assumed that the house was established in a foreign country and the principal partner was a native. Could such a house be bound to observe all the usages of our house in the British territories? . . .”

(47) *Charles Russell to Henry Russell, 74 Welbeck Street,*
11 February 1824

His father now knows about the Hyderabad enquiries and thinks it will be a nine days wonder.

(48) *Charles Russell to Henry Russell, 74 Welbeck Street,*
12 February 1824

“ . . . Hopkinson tells me that he could almost take his oath that Metcalfe positively asserts as a matter about which there can be no doubt that I continued a partner to the day of my embarkation. He says that the whole letter is written in a tone as if the information about us were wrung from him, and he concludes it by passing the highest eulogy upon your talents, by stating very forcibly the important services you had rendered your country in withholding the Nizam from the late confederacy and by expressing a hope that such services may be considered a mitigation of any faults you may have committed. He does not remember the words but this is the substance. His informant who he said was an intimate friend of Metcalfe's called the letter 'an infamous scrawl equally discreditable to his head and his heart.' The marginal notes were very violent, such as 'a lie, a palpable lie.' The man who made them calls Metcalfe Iago throughout and applies to him many of the bitterest passages about Iago's duplicity . . . ”

(49) *Charles Russell to Henry Russell, 74 Welbeck Street,*
4 May 1824

Henry Russell is now preparing his defence in a published letter to the Court of Directors.

“ . . . I think if I were in your place I would insert in the body of

the letter a more detailed view of the character of the reform you proposed, contrasting with it the reform, if it can be so called, which Metcalfe has adopted, and shewing, as I have often heard you do forcibly in conversation, that tendency of the principles and measures advocated by Elphinstone, Metcalfe, and that school to completely subvert the Native Govts. and extend the Company's dominion . . . ”

(50) *Charles Russell to Henry Russell, 74 Welbeck Street,*
28 May 1824

Charles Russell has obtained some proof sheets of the forthcoming papers relating to Hyderabad affairs published by the Court of Proprietors.

“ . . . In the first place they shew that the Directors intend to print every thing on the Hydd. question as Astell said at the general Court the other day. In the second place they shew the spirit of Metcalfe's reports which as far as the house at least is concerned is bitter enough. In the third place they explain John Palmer's expression of the many other things for which you will be held responsible which I have no doubt are the salaries which were allowed to Nizam's officers and the Elephant establishments etc. which were allowed by Chundoo Loll to Rumbold and Palmer. And in the last place I think they shew that we did Rumbold an injustice in supposing that it was he who communicated to Metcalfe the circumstance of your having at one time had an interest in the concern. I now suspect Lamb . . . ”

(51) *Charles Russell to Henry Russell, 74 Welbeck Street,*
31 May 1824

“ . . . I think Adam's view of the case renders it important to describe strongly the degree of influence that was exercised by a Resd. before Metcalfe's time ; and to shew that the extent of that influence did not embrace such subjects as the money transactions of the Nizam's Govt. or the granting of pensions to whomsoever they pleased. That it was confined in fact to upholding the Minister who was favorable to us and the alliance ; and to looking after the military establishment for the purpose both of strengthening the Minister and of fulfilling the obligations of the treaty with us in the event of war. I think I remember a passage in one of your despatches in which you describe as one of the vices of the system that a minister so situated at the same time as he was a very powerful was [also] an irresponsible agent. That Metcalfe thought fit to carry the interference further and our govt. to sanction it ought to reflect no disgrace on the consequences of the lesser interference which

was before allowed. It will be very hard if all the defects of the Nizam's Govt. and all the defects of the Chundoo Loll's character, which after all I suppose are much the same as those of all native Governments and Ministers, should be set at your doors when you would have been censured if you had interfered with them. How can Adam state that the *usurious* transactions of the house had been laid open by Metcalfe when their *usurious* quality at least was exhibited to all the members of Govt. by the detailed Aurungabad accounts which were so long before them and must have been as well known to Mr. Adam as it was to you. It could not have been Lamb it seems who gave Metcalfe the information. Who could have been the informer . . . ?"

(52) *Charles Russell to Henry Russell, 74 Welbeck Street,*
1 June 1824

Is sending him some more proof sheets of forthcoming Hyderabad Papers to be published by the Court of Proprietors.

" . . . Alloway tells me that the man who procures the papers cannot get them without the aid of another man, and that they expect £20 apiece. This with £20 for Alloway himself will be £60 . . . It occurs to me that you should repel Metcalfe's assertion that the debt must have ruined the Govt. and the Country. You might do it in the opening of that paragraph where you speak of the Nizam's treasures in some such passage as this—'Sir C. M. in several places speaks of the inevitable ruin that must have been brought on the Nizam's Govt. by its debt to Messrs W. Palmer and Co. Such a result is by no means justified by the premises. It is not easy to understand why a Govt. possessing a revenue of above two crores a year can be said to be ruined by a debt which according to the statement of the creditors themselves was to have been paid off in six annual instalments of sixteen lacs of Rupees.' Then go on to the Nizam's treasures at Golconda. I suggest this more as an outline. You will do it much better . . . "

(52) *Charles Russell to Henry Russell, 74 Welbeck Street,*
4 June 1824

" . . . In the Court's letter which I now send you you will see they attack the system of the reformed troops generally. It will be for you to consider whether you will defend it. It is enough for you that the local govt. approved it. You knew nothing of the Court's objections ; but if you thought it advisable it would be very easy to defend the system generally. The troops being officered by British officers is a complete security against their acting against us, and if those officers be withdrawn

I imagine it can be proved by experience that troops disciplined in our way are, with the exception of artillery perhaps, less formidable to us than when left to act on their own predatory system. In the only case to which the reformed system has been carried to any extent—in the Nizam's country—that state contrary to the universal expectation remained faithful to us; and at Poona though the reformed troops were not numerous enough to restrain the Paishwa, they immediately on the breaking out of hostilities joined us: so that whatever may be said of the political honesty of such a system nothing can be said against its practical utility.

"I have been turning over in my mind the subjects of your letter of the 1st and am much disposed to agree in opinion with you. I always thought that our statement should be so general as not to supply any proofs against us. If we can go further and confine ourselves to a simple denial of any connexion *with the house* it will be still better. There will be great difficulty however in framing our statement on that principle in such a manner as not to leave it exposed to the charges of equivocation which we perceive have been made by Adam and Metcalfe against that course when adopted by Rumbold and Palmer. We must consider also what effect such a course would have on our characters and cause in the event of any trial taking place and its being held to be an evasion. What also will Edmonstone and such of the Directors as have seen your previous letter think? They must think that our connexion with Palmer was objectionable or that there could be no reason for our not stating it. What effect will such a denial have on Metcalfe? It may drive him to adduce such proofs of our connexion as may be within his reach and amongst these may be the *Cawle*. These are some of the objections which have occurred to me but I do not mean to say that they are of sufficient weight to decide the question. I think with you that the Directors will resort to some judicial proceeding and from the letter which [I] send you in the proof sheets of today you will see that they hold the transactions previous to the legal sanction to be liable to prosecution. It may therefore be wise under any circumstances to take care that we do not furnish them with proof against ourselves. At all events I am sure it will be wise to take a legal opinion on the question . . ."

(54) *Charles Russell to Henry Russell, 74 Welbeck Street,*
6 June 1824

". . . I think you have very much improved your opening to your letter. It still I see contains the passage relative to your entrusting your money to the Engineer's care, and I think you will have some difficulty

in getting rid of it ; for how will you then account for the coolness with Palmer which is a most important point to your defence . . . We ought to see Metcalfe's report containing Palmer's answers to the questions before we can tell accurately what they know and what use has been made of it. When you come to town we can soon get to that part of the correspondence as we can have a fresh supply of the papers as fast as we can return those we have read. But the men dare not have above six or eight sheets out at a time as a greater number would so reduce the pile of the proof sheets, which lie it appears in one corner of the office, that it might be noticed by some of the partners or principals of the establishment . . . ”

(55) *Charles Russell to Henry Russell, 74 Welbeck Street,*
7 June 1824

“ . . . Yesterday being Sunday and every body being absent from the printing office except our *honest* friends they brought me the whole series of H. Papers which are yet printed. I could keep them for a couple of hours only, a short time to read about 400 folio pages, but I was able to run through them reading hastily all that bears upon us . . . ” Here follows a short synopsis.

(56) *Charles Russell to Henry Russell, 74 Welbeck Street,*
16 July 1824

Sends him more proofs of the Hyderabad Papers.

“ . . . These papers will be so far satisfactory to you, as containing the old accounts, without any clue to my father's name, and Adam's Minute expressing the intention of Govt. not to go into any further investigation of the details of the charges . . . ”

He considers the withholding of allowances from Palmer's family as an abominable interference with the authority of the Nizam's government.

“ . . . Have you said in treating on the subject of these allowances that it was not consistent with the degree of interference which was exercised by you or your predecessor to controul the Nizam's ministers in the grant of allowances to their own servants? . . . ”

(57) *Charles Russell to Henry Russell, 74 Welbeck Street,*
20 January 1825

Rumbold's defence is nearly ready for the printers.

“ . . . At Rumbold's I met Col. Doyle who told me that Stuart is canvassing actively to get votes hostile to Lord Hastings. What miserable

revenge. One of Doyle's friends met him at a proprietors when he was canvassing on the other side and heard him say 'Come down on the day of the debate just to hear what a dressing I will give Lord H. and his injudicious friends.' Rumbold is quite alive to the necessity of silencing Stuart if possible . . ."

(58) *Charles Russell to Henry Russell, 74 Welbeck Street,*
26 January 1825

" . . . I have been for some days turning in my mind how far it would be judicious in us to become proprietors and to go down manfully to the debate. I threw the suggestion out in talking with Rumbold to day and he is most decidedly in favor of it ; but of course his opinion may be influenced by his own interest. What however would be beneficial to you would in the long run be beneficial to him. The reasons which have weighed with me are first generally the great advantage of putting on a bold face on every question. Secondly may it not appear odd your being in England and not going to a debate so vitally affecting your character ; thirdly may it not have the effect of restraining many persons particularly Stuart who would perhaps say more in your absence than they would dare to say to your face. Fourthly, if any thing is said may it not be easier to answer it verbally than in a written statement which the course of the debate might possibly render indispensable. Some questions might be asked you about the nature of your connexion which it might be awkward to answer, but Rumbold says he is sure that the view which is taken of such a connexion here is very different from what would be taken of it in India and that your rupture with Palmer and your avowal in your own printed letter would be held to be complete proof that you contemplated nothing wrong. He says this not on speculation only but from the impression which he has observed to prevail on the subject. My own opinion is by no means made up but I think it a matter for serious deliberation. I should like to talk it over with you and would run down to Sutton for that purpose unless you would come to town for a day when you might talk it over with others as well as myself . . ."

(59) *Charles Russell to Henry Russell, 74 Welbeck Street,*
15 February 1825

Urge him to attend the debate at India House in case his name is mentioned. Has heard that the House of Mackintosh has failed at Calcutta.

(60) *Charles Russell to Henry Russell, Whittington Hall,
16 June 1825*

" . . . I see by Pitman's letter to me that he is disposed to vindicate Metcalfe. I am not at all surprised at this. He has evidently little information of all that has passed ; he has in common with many others a high opinion of Metcalfe's character : and he has a bad opinion and strong dislike of both Rumbold and Palmer . . . "

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

A GLANCE OVER THE MUTINY FILES IN THE CUSTODY OF THE REGIONAL OFFICE OF THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA AT BHOPAL

THE records relating to the Mutiny of 1857 available in the Regional Office, Bhopal, are docketed and labelled as files. Some of them are bound, but the greater part is kept in bundles. Every file contains six to seven sheets of news letters.

The files deal with the incidents in Bhopal and contain the following material :—

1. Reports of the Sub-Inspectors to Nazims (District Magistrates).
2. Reports of the Nazims to the Begam of Bhopal concerning the Sub-Inspectors' reports.
3. The reports of Bakshi Murawat Mohd. Khan, the Commander-in-Chief of the State forces, who afterwards became the temporary Commander of the Sehore contingent when the British officers had to leave Sehore for Hoshangabad.
4. Administrative orders from the Begam to the Nazims regarding the maintenance of peace and security in the country.
5. Confidential and secret reports of Bhawani Prasad, the special agent of Bhopal stationed at Sehore.

These reports give very valuable information on the events happening during the Mutiny at Sehore, Hoshangabad, and Garhi Ambapani. They throw light on the state of affairs in the adjacent territories as well. They clearly show that the most disturbed places were Sehore, where a British contingent of the Company's Army was stationed, and Garhi Ambapani, where two members belonging to a branch of the ruling family, viz., Adil Mohd. Khan and Fazil Mohd. Khan, had raised the standard of rebellion.

Bhawani Prasad, the special agent of Bhopal, who was stationed at Sehore, sent daily news to the Nawab Sikandar Jahan Begam, ruler of Bhopal. His reports form a very valuable and useful collection. They give a vivid picture of the activities of Tantia Topi, Nana Sahib and the Rani of Jhansi. The following is the translation of a typical news letter.

To

Her Highness Nawab Sikandar Jahan Begam.

May it please Your Highness. Rani Jhansi and Nawab Banda both in person resorted to firing from their *morcha* (position) against the

British regiment under the command of Major R. The hand of Nawab of Banda was blown off by a ball fired from the *morcha* of Major R. Another mortar ball hit Rani Jhansi on the breast and killed her in the battlefield. The insurgents burnt her body in sandal wood.

Another reliable information is received that about three thousand insurgents along with thirteen guns from the artillery battery of the Maharaja have fled towards Karauli. It is publicly rumoured here that Tantia Topi has ordered his followers that at the time the whole army with baggage comes out of Gwalior, they should leave their *morchas* and take flight towards Karauli. Till then they should remain in their *morchas* as usual and continue to fight. General Rūs (Ross? Rose?) has sent a detachment expeditiously for the chastisement of runaway insurgents. And Maharaja Sindhia Bahadur today at 8 a.m. came to see the A.G.G. Nineteen guns were fired in his honour. The reception had not started when he had entered the bungalow of A.G.G.C.I. With the Maharaja a Sikh *risala* of the British army has also come from Akbarabad. Mortar firing is still going on from the *morcha* of Major R. Sahib Bahadur. It is sure that Gwalior will soon be conquered and the Maharaja reinstated on *masnad*. There were in treasury six lacs of rupees which have been taken away by the insurgents; but the subjects have not been plundered.

P.S. Karauli is northward from Gwalior and adjoins Jaipur, Bharatpur and Ajmer territories.

Bhawani Prasad.

Dated 6th Zu Qada 1274H= 18.6.1858 at 2 p.m. Friday.
Murar Cantt.

M. H. RIZAWI.

A NOTE ON DEXTRINE PASTE

MOST of the documents repaired with chiffon and dextrine paste adhesive during the past 10-15 years in the National Archives of India were found to have turned considerably yellow. An investigation of the cause of this rapid yellowing of the documents so repaired showed that the yellowing was due to the excessive acidity of the dextrine paste, which accelerated the decomposition and decay of the chiffon.

The formula of dextrine paste, hitherto used in the National Archives of India, was recommended to this Department by the Chemical Examiner to the West Bengal Government in 1920. It incorporates dextrine, water, oil of cloves, saffrol and white arsenic. Dextrine in water forms an adhesive paste, while oil of cloves, saffrol and white arsenic act as insect deterrents. Dextrine itself is slightly acidic, and the addition of 'white arsenic' to it makes it more so. Experiments conducted by us showed that the replacement of 'white arsenic' with lead carbonate, a basic insect deterrent, neutralizes much of the acidity of the dextrine paste.

The modified formula of the dextrine paste is as follows:

1. Dextrine	...	5	lbs.
2. Water	...	10	lbs.
3. Oil of cloves	...	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	oz.
4. Saffrol	...	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	oz.
5. Lead Carbonate	...	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	oz.

Documents repaired with chiffon and the dextrine paste according to the revised formula exhibited only a very slight change in colour when subjected to an accelerated aging test in the Laboratory. The slight yellowing is perhaps due to the natural aging of the chiffon itself. The revised formula appears to be a clear improvement on the previous one.

R. KISHORE
Y. P. KATHPALIA

NEWS NOTES

INDIA

National Archives of India

THE Ministry of Defence has transferred to the National Archives of India about 3,117 bundles and 488 volumes of records from its Record Room at Calcutta. The most important of the thirty-two record groups now accessioned are the Proceedings of the Military Department (1873-1906), Army Department (1906-1935), Defence Department (1936-1938) and the Military Works (1863-1909). They also include 196 bundles of B. Proceedings of the Military Supply Department (1906-9) which are practically all that have survived of the records of this short lived Department, the rest of the records having been destroyed. Other notable accessions are 1,250 files of the Ministry of Education (1950-51), 34 authenticated copies of Bills from Part A, B and C States assented to by the President and 19 volumes of the Survey of India Records dealing with Revenue Surveys of Bengal, Bihar and Assam for the period 1851-64.

Among the new additions to the cartographic collection are 400 maps from the late Central India States Agency, Indore. The Survey of India has transferred 342 volumes of the Survey Memoirs covering the period of 1761-1860.

Lt. Col. Ahmad Baksh Khan, a prominent physician of Bhopal has made a gift of his personal papers to the Department.

The Department has recently received 52 rolls of microfilms from the Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague. These include copies of the records of the Dutch East Indies Company from 1700 to 1712; micro-copies of the earlier records of the Company have already been acquired. The microfilming of some of the basic materials on modern Indian history available among the Nouvelles Acquisitions Series of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, has continued to make good progress. Among the latest instalment of 36 rolls of microfilms received from there are copies of Correspondence of Dupleix with the French East India Company and documents relating to his trial, (1720-72); Memoirs on the establishment of the French colonies in the East Indies, written by Sir Francois Martin, Governor of the town and of the Fort Louis of Pondicherry, 1664-96; Correspondence relating to the French East India Company, Correspondence of the Directors, Orders in Council, decrees of the Council of State, balance sheets of the Company, cargoes of vessels, etc. 1664-1766; Journal of the Army commanded by Bussy in the Deccan, 1751-55; Memoirs of Law relating to the events that occurred in Bengal, 1756-61; Memoirs of Mr. de Madec; Account of the Naval campaign of Bailiff de Suffren in India written by Chaplain de Vengeur, 1781-84; Correspondence of Marquis de Bussy, 1781-99; Correspondence of Bernard Picot de la Motte with several authorities in India, 1765-79; and the papers relating to the trial of Lally-Tollendal, 1763-66.

A photostat copy of a certificate issued to Mahatma Gandhi by the Council of Legal Education in England was also obtained through the courtesy of the High Commission of India, London.

The first short term course in archive-keeping for 1955 commenced on 3 January with 12 trainees from the various Departments of the Government of India and the State Governments. 11 of them completed their training on 31 March 1955. The Diploma Course for 1955-56 which started on 3 January 1955 was joined by three students.

Volume XVII of *Fort William—India House Correspondence*, edited by Prof. Y. J. Taraporewala, was published in January 1955. The printing of volumes I and II of the series made steady progress. Volume IX of the series, edited by Dr. B. A. Saletore, was sent to the press in February 1955. The first volume of *Index to the Records of the Foreign and Political Department*, covering the years 1756-1780, was sent to the press in May 1955. Volume X of *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* was sent to the press in February 1955. *Annual Report for the year 1954* and *Bulletin of Research Theses and Dissertations in the Union of India* were published during the period.

The Bhopal Branch of the National Archives of India started functioning on 23 November 1954. Some of the important series of records taken over during the period were: Mutiny papers, 170 files; Original authenticated copies of laws written on parchment and bearing the seals of the rulers of Bhopal, 32 volumes; *Daftari Insha* (1853-1907), 1127 bundles; *Daftari Tarikh* (1911-32), 35 bundles, and one volume containing letters and correspondence between the Political Agent, Bhopal, and the Resident at Indore. Since most of the records taken over do not possess proper lists, fresh inventories are being prepared.

Indian Historical Records Commission

The 31st annual session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held at Mysore on 25-26 January 1955. Owing to the unavoidable absence of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Union Minister for Education, and *Ex-Officio* President of the Commission, the session was presided over by Dr. R. C. Majumdar.

The proceedings of the public meeting began with the welcome address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Shri A. G. Ramachandra Rao, Minister of Law, Labour and Education, Government of Mysore. The Presidential address of Maulana Azad, which was read by Professor L. R. Sethi, was mainly devoted to the need for a scientific study and assessment of all the materials bearing on the 'Sepoy Mutiny' of 1857. He felt that there was no better way of celebrating the centenary of the event which would come off on 10 May 1957 than to bring out a comprehensive and objective study of the struggle. He announced that the Government of India had entrusted Dr. S. N. Sen, the veteran Indian historian and formerly Director of Archives to the Government of India, with this task.

The Annual Meeting of the members of the Commission was held on 26 January 1955. The proceedings began with a resolution of condolence on the death of Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar who, as Educational Adviser to the Government of India, was the Chairman of the Research and Publication Committee in 1948 and 1952-53, and presided over the 29th Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Bhopal in February 1953.

The Secretary then gave the Commission an account of the progress of the development programme of the National Archives of India during 1954. During the discussions that followed, the Secretary explained the difficulties in the way of archival legislation, and mentioned that the Government of India had agreed to amend the Export of Antiquities Act, 1947, so as to stop the export of records and historical manuscripts from the country, and that steps were being taken to implement the decision. The subject of preparing a National Register of Records was also discussed, but the general opinion was that conditions were not yet favourable for such an undertaking. Much concern was expressed over the dispersal of the records of the Residencies that have become defunct. The question of retrieving such of these records as had been transferred to the United Kingdom High Commission in 1947 was raised, and the Secretary mentioned that negotiations were proceeding with the Government of the United Kingdom on the subject. The members of the Commission stressed the need for care and fore-thought in determining the future of these records, and a resolution was passed requesting the Government of India that "before taking any final steps to distribute records in different areas they might consider the suitability of the climate of the place to which the records are to be removed as well as the policy of dispersal involved in it." By another resolution the Commission recommended that in view of the high cost of preservation of permanent records prepared on ordinary paper, the Government of India should prescribe paper of durable quality for the use of all records-creating agencies in India. The question of preparing indexes and descriptive catalogues to the records at the different Record Offices also received great attention. Opinion was expressed that where it was not possible to prepare indexes to records of the type being prepared by the National Archives of India, descriptive catalogues should be prepared and published, and a resolution was passed to that effect.

Research and Publication Committee

The twenty-fourth meeting of the Research and Publication Committee was held on the morning of 26 January 1955 at the Crawford Hall, Mysore, with Dr. R. C. Majumdar in the Chair. The Committee reviewed the progress made in the Publication Programme of the National Archives of India during 1954 and expressed disappointment at the rather slow progress in the printing of Volume I of *Fort William—India House Correspondence* by the Government of India Press. By another resolution the Committee

requested the Government to fix the price of each of the volumes in the series in such a way as to bring it within the reach of scholars to buy them. The general opinion was that in no case the price of a volume should exceed Rs. 20/-.

Dr. Ganda Singh moved that the scope of Scheme III (B) of the Publication Programme of the National Archives of India should be widened so as to enable universities, learned institutions and research societies to select and publish on their own account, but subject to the approval of the Government of India, records of historical significance available at the National Archives of India which have not already been included in the above scheme. The Committee accepted this proposal.

After reviewing the survey work done by the *ad hoc* and permanent Regional Records Survey Committees functioning in the various States, the Secretary, Research and Publication Committee, was authorised to look into the actual working and composition of the various Regional Committees and take such steps as would make them work more efficiently.

The meeting concluded with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

Central Record Office, Allahabad

Under the Four Years' Publication Programme of the office the following publications were issued: (1) *Banaras Affairs* (1788-1810), Volume I. (2) *Henry Wellesley's Correspondence* (1801-1803). (3) *Press Lists of pre-Mutiny Records; Banaras Correspondence* (1776-1789), Volume I; and (4) *A Calendar of Oriental Records*, Volume I. Besides, the Quinquennial *Administrative Report of the Government Central Record Office, U. P., Allahabad, 1949-1954*, was also issued.

Normal accruals of records included certain pre-Mutiny records of Aligarh, Azaingarh, Farrukhabad, Ghazipur and Kanpur. Besides, a number of *Farmans* and *Parwanas* in Persian of the Mughal period, two manuscripts, *Waqa-i-Alamgir* and *Tarikh-i-Kakori*, and a unique illustrated manuscript of *Ramcharitamanas* were purchased.

Secretariat Records Office, Assam

4,556 files were received from the different Departments of the Government. The *Amalgamated Index to Government Proceedings for the year 1949* was completed and sent to the press.

Secretariat Records Office, Bombay

Of the accruals during the period may be mentioned the old records of the Sawantawadi State which deal with its relations with the Portuguese Government in the latter part of the 18th century. Fifteen bundles of Sanskrit manuscripts including copies of the *Mahabharat*, *Ramayan* and

Bhagwat Mahatmya were purchased. Microfilms of letters from the Court of Directors to the Bombay Council, 1727-43, and letters from the Bombay Council to the Court of Directors, 1727-46, originals of which are not available in the Office, and "Notes on Maratha Institutions" were procured from the Commonwealth Relations Office, London. A photostat copy of *Nauras Nama*, written in the Devanagari script and containing songs and lyrics composed by Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur, was obtained from the Salar Jang Museum, Hyderabad.

Volume I of the *Descriptive Catalogue of the Secret and Political Department Records* was published. It covers a complete series of 500 volumes and indicates the contents in a summary form. Further, the publication of *Peshwa Daftari* has been resumed in a new series and the first volume has been sent to the press.

In the year 1954-55, two meetings of the Standing Committee of the State Board for Historical Records and Ancient Monuments were held, one at Poona on 3 July 1954, and the other at Nevasa on 9 February 1955. At the earlier meeting it was decided to microfilm the old issues of the *Bombay Courier* and the *Bombay Gazette*, of which copies up to 1820 are available in the Bombay Record Office. At the meeting held at Nevasa it was resolved to obtain a copy of *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk* of Rafi-ud-Din Shirazi and a photostat of *Nauras-Nama* in the Devanagari script, available at the Salar Jang Museum. The latter has already been obtained as mentioned above.

Baroda Records Office

Volume VIII of the *Historical Selections from Baroda*, which covers the administration of Sayaji Rao Gaikwad II from 1826 to 1836, has been published.

Alienation Office, Poona

The records of the Phaltan and Aundh States were deposited in the Alienation Office, Poona. It has been decided to publish *Selections from the Chitnishi Daftari*, and preliminary work in this connection has already been completed.

Kolhapur Record Office

Some records of Kagal Jagir prior to 1870 were received for deposit from the *Mamlatdar* of Kagal. Some preliminary work has been done in respect of the publication of the records of Torgal Jagir. A guide to the Kolhapur Records is under preparation.

Madras Record Office

The Madras Record Office as usual accessioned the Secretariat records, confidential as well as non-confidential. The other accessions include the records of the Board of Revenue, 1942-45, the Chief Conservator of Forests,

1943, the electoral rolls of the various constituencies in the Madras and Andhra States as amended and finalised in 1953-54, and the records of the committee appointed under section 5 (1) (a) of the Minimum Wages Act, 1948. Under the new publication programme of the Office, the revision of the Gazetteer of the Tanjore District was completed, and the revised edition is expected to be published shortly. The next volume taken up for revision is the Madura District Gazetteer. A supplementary catalogue of all the old records accessioned since 1916 has been sent to the press. The Office has undertaken to compile a catalogue of books received from the Registrar of Books during 1890-1900.

• *Punjab Government Record Office, Simla*

The Office acquired from various sources, either by purchase or gift, six historical manuscripts, twelve large size paintings of rulers and chiefs of the Punjab and over four hundred rare publications of historical interest. Besides the above, two rolls of negative microfilm copies of 92 documents bearing on the Namdhari movement were received on behalf of the Punjab State Committee, History of the Freedom Movement in India. It has also been decided to obtain microfilm copies of documents pertaining to the history of the Punjab available at the National Archives of India, New Delhi, and the Secretariat Record Office, Bombay.

The Office took part in the Historical Exhibition held at the Sikh History Research Department, Khalsa College, Amritsar, on the occasion of the 117th death anniversary of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Regional Records Survey Committees

Hyderabad. Nawab Inayat Jung Bahadur has presented 18 volumes of the *Fort St. George Records* to the Regional Records Survey Committee, Hyderabad. Another collection of note acquired by the Committee consists of certain documents in the Persian and Modi scripts from Panchakki in Aurangabad District. It includes the private correspondence in Modi of a Muslim merchant family and this is expected to shed light on the condition of trade and commerce in the latter half of the 18th century.

The possibility of conducting an investigation for ancient records at Paithan with its well-known *Muth* of Shiv Dinakesari as well as at Jalna, Babhulgaon, Phulambri and Zafarabad is being explored.

The Committee has decided to issue a bulletin to disseminate information regarding the persons and institutions in the State who are known to possess historical manuscripts and papers.

The Urdu and Persian Sub-Committee of the Regional Records Survey Committee is endeavouring to obtain some of the manuscripts in the possession of Mirza Abdul Ghaffar Baig of Nanded for scrutiny.

The Committee held its seventh meeting on 13 September 1954. It

was reconstituted by the Hyderabad Government on 1 April 1955 with Dr. S. Bhagwantam, Vice-Chancellor of the Osmania University, as President and the Director, Central Records Office, Mr. Mahmood Hasan, as *Ex-Officio* Secretary.

Madras. After its meeting in February 1954, the Madras Regional Records Survey Committee met twice, once in September 1954 and again in February 1955. The Committee suffered a grievous loss in the death of the Zamindar of Kapileswarapuram, Shri B. B. Sarvarayudu Garu, one of its prominent members who had made it possible for the Committee to take up the listing of the records in the possession of the Zamindar of Perur. These records which are in Telugu and Persian relate to the period 1746-1807 and include some *Takeeds* (written orders), and *Sanads* issued by the Nizam of Hyderabad to the *Subadar* of Rajahmundry. The possibility of listing the records in the possession of the Junior Prince of Tanjore and of surveying the records in private custody at Pondicherry is also being explored.

The Committee's effort to get particulars about the records of the old business houses in the State made some head-way. Messrs. Parry and Company sent a complete list of their old files and records, which have been placed in the Madras Record Office. It is also proposed to scrutinise the records of Messrs. King and Partridge. Similarly, historical records in temples and *muths* are also engaging the Committee's attention.

Mysore. The Government of Mysore has extended the term of the existing Regional Records Survey Committee for a further period of three years with effect from 18 January 1953.

An appeal was sent to all the Deputy Commissioners of the State, Registrar, Mysore Government Secretariat, Huzur Secretary, Mysore Palace, Huzur Secretary to the Raja Sahib of Sandur, the important *muths* in the State, the Nawab of Honnali and all the important heads of old families, requesting them to forward any information they may have regarding the location of historical records so that a survey and evaluation could be made of them. Some of the replies so far received have been quite encouraging.

The Palegars of Belagutti have sent about 50 documents to the Committee and the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore, has brought to light some documents from Goribidanur and Chamarajanagar taluks. They will be appraised shortly. In the Shimoga District office hundreds of records dating from 1800 onwards have been unearthed.

A Sub-Committee consisting of Dr. M. V. Krishna Rao, Professor of History, University of Mysore, and Shri H. Deveerappa, Secretary of the Committee, has been appointed to examine and assess the price of the several important records collected by the Regional Committee.

Orissa. During the year 1954-55 the Committee held one meeting under the presidentship of Dr. H. K. Mahtab in which the best way of unearthing documents in private custody was considered. It was decided that each member of the Central or District Committee should undertake a survey of

the records of particular areas assigned to him during the year, utilising wherever possible the services of the district officers, college students and primary school teachers.

Punjab. Of the several manuscripts acquired, mention may be made of *Tazkira Rausa-i-Punjab*, *Risala-dar-Khat*, *Khatut*, *Shirin Farhand*, *Bani Guru Gobind Singh*, *Maktub-i-insha* and *Bostan*. A highly valuable collection of historical documents in the possession of Rai Inderjit Singh Bhandari of Batala has been brought to light by the Committee. The collection is expected to be very useful for the elucidation of the Punjab history in general and Anglo-Sikh relations in particular. It consists of over 4,000 original documents pertaining to Rai Krishna Chand, Rai Gobind Das, Rai Nand Singh and Rai Ramdial, who had functioned as Political Agents of the Lahore Durbar at Ludhiana, Ferozpur, Karnal and Ambala during the Sikh rule. The Punjab Government Record Office is negotiating to acquire the collection.

Uttar Pradesh. The seventh and eighth meetings of the Uttar Pradesh Regional Records Survey Committee were held on 13 November 1954 and 5 March 1955 under the presidentship of Dr. B. P. Saksena, and Dr. Qanungo, respectively. The seventh meeting passed a resolution soliciting the active co-operation of District Inspectors of Schools, universities and research scholars in the task of locating private records.

Among the Persian manuscripts acquired by the Committee mention may be made of *Ruqqat-i-Alamgiri*, *Insha-i-Abul Fazl* (compiled and edited by Abul Fazl's nephew Abdus Samad Afzal), *Insha-i-Madhoram*, *Kajkol-i-Kashmir*, and *Yoga Vasishtha* (translated into Persian by Prince Muhammad Dara Shukoh), *Ain-i-Akbari* (Aligarh Manuscript), *Tarikh-i-Nadir Shah* (1836 copy) and *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* (with Kutub Shahi seal).

Besides, the Committee examined a very interesting collection of records relating to Avadh and purchased 162 *parwanas* and 9 *farmans*. These include Mughal royal *farmans* and *parwanas*, and the family papers of the heirs of Ali Mardan Khan relating to Shaikhs and Afghans of *Pargana Sandila*, *Sarkar Lucknow*, *Suba Avadh*.

INTERNATIONAL

*Second International Round Table Conference
of Archivists, 25-27 April 1955*

At the initiative of M. Charles Braibant, Director of Archives of France, the First International Conference of the Directors and Inspectors of Archives was held in Paris in 1954. Namur was selected as the venue for the Second Conference in 1955. It was attended by 31 delegates from 12 countries: France, Belgium, Germany, Denmark, Spain, Netherlands, Poland,

United Kingdom, Switzerland, Yugoslavia, Saar, and Haiti. The main subject of discussion "The Problem of Modern Archives" was discussed in its various aspects: Control of the Administrative Archives, Accession and Destruction, and Organization of Archives in the Making, at three separate sittings of the Conference under the presidentship of M. Braibant (France) M. Tihon (Belgium), and M. Hardenberg (Netherlands) respectively.

UNITED KINGDOM

Annual Conference of the British Records Association

The British Records Association met for its 22nd Annual Conference on 13-14 December 1954. The *Publications Meeting* was held under the chairmanship of K. A. Skelton of the British Museum. The subject under discussion was "The use of maps in record publications". Mr. Skelton introducing the subject said that topography was the groundwork of local history, and as graphic documents, maps had advantages over the written word. There was increasing awareness that written documents and maps were complementary sources of information. Mr. G. R. Crone, Librarian of the Royal Geographical Society and Mr. D. P. Bickmore of the Cartographic Department of the Clarendon Press also read papers on the subject.

The annual General Meeting of the *Records Preservation Section* was presided over by Sir Hilary Jenkinson. Mr. H. M. Colvin, Librarian of St. John's College, Oxford, read a paper on "Architectural History and its Archives". In the discussion that followed, indentures which described old houses as well as inventories which accompanied wills were stated to be valuable sources of information relating to architecture.

"That the accumulation of modern archives has increased, is increasing and ought to be diminished" was the subject for the *Discussion Meeting* of the Association with Sir Hilary Jenkinson in the chair. According to Mr. Hurstfield to preserve all records on microfilm was no solution at all. Large scale weeding was essential and the only safe criterion for preservation or destruction of records in his opinion was administrative need. He proposed that certain classes of documents, *viz.*, policy files, statistics, "association documents" such as letters from famous men, and personal documents, must always be preserved. Miss Wake deplored the automatic destruction of business records as well as those of Urban or District Councils.

Sir Hilary Jenkinson reminded the Conference that a leaflet on some criterion for destruction of records had been published jointly by the British Records Association and the Public Record Office. In the general discussion which followed various speakers spoke against drastic or even partial destruction of records.

Society of Archivists

Society of Archivists with wider aims and membership thrown open to all Commonwealth countries, has replaced the Society of Local Archivists. Its official organ, *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, the first number of which was issued in April 1955, contains several articles on the nature and study of "particular record" groups.

National Register of Archives

Lists of migrant historical manuscripts at the various national and local repositories in England have hitherto been published in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*. It has been now considered advisable to have them published each year in a special number of the *Bulletin of the National Register of Archives*. Number 6 of this *Bulletin*, issued recently, deals with the accessions of 86 national or local repositories during 1954.

Bodleian Library, Oxford

Recently the Library has acquired from the Earl of Leicester 108 of the 112 Greek manuscripts in the Holkham Library, which have remained together from the early eighteenth century to the present day in the possession of his ancestors.

British Museum, London

Among the recent acquisitions of the British Museum are several letters to George Vansittart, M.P., from Warren Hastings and others, (Add. Ms. 48370); Papers of John Bellingham, the murderer of Spencer Perceval, relating mainly to the grievances which led to the murder, 1807-1812 (Add. Ms. 48216); Papers of General Sir George Cockburn, G.C.H., 18th-19th century in 28 volumes (Add. Ms. 48312-48339); and Sir H. Cavendish's Journal of Commons Debates, 9-31 January 1770; and part of the series—Egerton MSS. 215-263 (Egerton Ms. 3711).

John Ryland's Library, Manchester

The Library has recently received on deposit the largest single collection in its charge relating directly to the history of the city of Manchester covering some seven centuries and consisting of 4,370 documents and 43 manuscript volumes. The collection contains a wealth of information concerning Manchester properties, land, streets, general topography etc. Another valuable accession of the Library consists of family manuscripts of the Earl of Crawford comprising both the Scottish documents and the records of his Lancashire estates.

THE INDIAN ARCHIVES

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

National Archives and Records Service

The General Services Administration, of which the National Archives and Records Service is a part, has announced the award of three contracts for surveys of the management of records in the Federal Government. Lester B. Knight with Associates of Chicago is to survey the paperwork practices in Government insurance agencies; John R. O'Brien and Associates of Washington, D.C. the records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Records Engineering Inc. of Washington the records of the Veterans Administration.

Finding aids recently published by the National Archives include preliminary inventories of the records of the Joint Congressional Aviation Policy Board, 1947-48; the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee's Subcommittee to investigate Interstate Railroads, 1935-43; the War Relocation Authority; the National War Labour Board (World War II) and the Commission of Fine Arts. Inventories were also made of the records relating to the United States' participation in international conferences, commissions and expositions, and of the cartographic records of the United States Marine Corps.

The National Historical Publications Commission presented to President Eisenhower in 1954, *A National Programme for the Publication of Historical Records*. It envisages publication of documents relating not only to political and military history but also to economic, social and intellectual developments, besides papers of some outstanding American leaders. The Commission expects to send to press soon a one-volume guide to archives and manuscripts in the United States.

Part I of the Report of the Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government (Hoover Commission) and Part I of the report of its Task Force on Paper Work Management have been issued.

Library of Congress

The Library of Congress has been presented with three manuscript diaries of George Carl Ludwig Preuss while he accompanied John C. Fremont on three expeditions to the West in the 1840's. 27,000 letters and memorabilia of Clara Barton dealing primarily with her work in Cuba during and after the Spanish-American War have been added to the Barton papers already in the Library. 15 volumes of Diaries recording the personal and official life of Fleet Admiral William D. Leahy for 55 years of his career (1897-1952) have become the property of the nation in a gift to the Library of Congress. The papers of Bishop Charles Henry Brent (1862-1929), well-known for his crusades against opium addiction, ranging from 1890 to 1929, have also been transferred to the Library.

The Naval Historical Foundation has deposited in the Library the papers of Capt. Washington I. Chambers, pioneer in naval aviation, covering the period from 1872 to 1934.

Photocopies of the correspondence exchanged between Gutzon Borglum and important figures of the 20th century including Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Herbert Hoover and William Allen White have been added to the Borglum collection.

A guide to the background reading material in respect of all the Asian countries has been published by the Library. It is intended for the general reader rather than for the specialist, and the 811 sources listed are limited mostly to those in the English language.

Vatican Manuscripts

The Vatican Manuscript depository at St. Louis University (U. S. A.) had undertaken sometime back a very ambitious project for microfilming the manuscript collection in the Vatican Library. Approximately half a million feet of microfilms have so far reached the depository.

BELGIUM

The Commission interuniversitair du Microfilm was established in 1949 to carry out an extensive programme for the microfilming of historical or philological documents of particular importance to Belgian Science available in Foreign libraries or archives. The Commission meets once or twice a year and decides which documents should be microfilmed.

Five copies of microfilms are taken out, of which one copy is kept at the Archives Generales du Royaume in Brussels and the remaining four in Belgian universities.

Microfilming of the documents preserved in the French and Austrian Archives has already commenced and it is proposed to take up documents in the Spanish Archives next.

PHOTODUPLICATION

Cormac Book-Printer

A photocopying machine that copies directly from books and can make copies of tightly-bound, narrow margined books is offered by Cormac Industries, New York. The page to be copied is placed face down upon the exposure plate. A sheet of photo sensitive paper is placed between the page and the exposure plate. An automatic timer controls the light exposure. The exposed negative sheet is placed against a positive sheet and both are fed into any one of the Cormac processing units.

Light Weight Photocopying Machine

An inflatable plastic air cushion which can be inflated with a hand pump is the unique feature of the Contoura photocopying machine made by the F. G. Ludwig Inc. In making copies the plastic air cushion is inflated to desired size and placed over the material to be copied, compensating for the shape and curve of the material where it is not flat. By this means copies can be made of tightly bound pages, wall-mounted material, or any curved material.

PRESERVATION

Brittle Documents

Mr. W. H. Langwell writing in the *Archives*, Lady Day number, 1954, suggests a new method for the prevention of damage to documents stored in sulphurous urban atmosphere. According to him impregnation of brittle papers in 1% solution of an inhibiting agent like ethylene diamine tetra acetic acid (di-Sodium salt), Potassium ferrocyanide, and di-Sodium pyrophosphate results in making papers immune to embrittlement in acidic atmospheres. Addition of 2-3% of glue or gelatin to the inhibiting bath strengthens the brittle paper.

The process described is suitable only for records on paper and not for records on parchment or vellum which might be damaged by such treatment. Since modern inks are diverse in character, caution is required in case the document is ink-written. The process has been found suitable for printed records.

BOOK REVIEWS

Siyahat-i-Kashmir (Kashmir Nama or Tarikh-i-Kashmir) edited by Vidya Sagar Suri, (Punjab Government Record Office, Simla, 1955; pp. 56; price Rs. 3/12/-).

BOOKS on Kashmir by European visitors are legion. But we are very thankful to the Punjab Government and their energetic Keeper of Records for bringing to light Lala Ganeshi Lal's "*Siyahat-i-Kashmir*." The book has a singular importance for us because it is the only available first-hand account of a tour of Kashmir and neighbouring lower hill states ensconced in the Himalayan ranges, by an Indian. It is not an account of the familiar imperial Mughal route which connected Kashmir with the West Punjab over the Tosamaidan Pass. Although at places very stiff and difficult, the route followed by Lala Ganeshi Lal and his "Sahibs" was the route followed by Kashmiri travellers, traders and emigrants to the Punjab. It is a daily journal in Persian enumerating the various halting stages *en route* from Ludhiana to Srinagar via Jammu-Banihal hill route on the one hand, and Srinagar to Simla via Kishtwar-Chamba hill route on the other, with notices here and there of their topography, inhabitants, and other interesting information, wherever it was possible for the author to secure it during his hectic march from one stage to another. More important still it mentions the articles exported from and imported into Kashmir; the rate of duty charged on each article by the Government at the two check-posts at Shahabad (Kashmir) and Banihal (Jammu); currency, weights and measures in use in Kashmir; and touches here and there on the administrative system prevailing on the eve of the transfer of the sovereignty of Kashmir to Maharaja Gulab Singh in 1846. We also come across the names of the most important beauty spots and places of interest in the valley approachable by the river Jhelum. Srinagar continues to be remembered by the name "Kashmir" by which it was known to Muslim historians. Since the tour was unfortunately performed in haste, the author was unable to devote more attention to study closely the various objects of interest with the result that some mistakes have crept in. As an instance, Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden's inscription on the islet in the Wooler lake is in Persian and not in Arabic.

Evidently the editor has taken great pains to prepare the English version of *Siyahat-i-Kashmir*. It is difficult to assess fully the merits of the translation without the original text, which is still unpublished. But to one familiar with the topography of Jammu and Kashmir, the weights and measures in use in the country, the wrong spellings of names of persons and places and of indigenous terms appear glaring. These could easily have been avoided by looking up Bates's *Gazetteer*, Vigne's *Travels* and Stein's *Rajatarangini*. Keeping in view the contents of the Journal, it is anomalous to give it three titles. The appellation *Siyahat-i-Kashmir* suits it best. The price of the publication is rather high.

R. K. PARMU

Selections from Oriental Records Series No. 1.—A Calendar of Oriental Records, Vol. I, edited by Dr. B. P. Saxena (price Rs. 1-11); *Press List of the Pre-Mutiny Records—Banaras Correspondence (1776-1789)*, Vol. I, General Editor, Dr. G. N. Saletore (price Rs. 1-11); *Selection from English Records No. 1—Banaras Affairs (1788-1810)*, Vol. I, General Editor, Dr. G. N. Saletore (price Rs. 4-14); *Selection from English Records No. 2—Henry Wellesley's Correspondence (1801-1803)*, General Editor, Dr. G. N. Saletore (price Rs. 2-9); and *The Administrative Report of the Government Central Record Office, Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad (1949-1954)* (price As. -/8/-).

THE volumes are of uniform size (6" x 9") paper board bound excepting the *Administrative Report* which is merely paper bound. They were all published in 1955 by the Government Central Record Office, U.P., 53 Mahatma Gandhi Marg, Allahabad, and are available from the Superintendent, Printing and Stationery, U.P., Allahabad.

We may first take up Dr. Saxena's *A Calendar of Oriental Records*, Vol. I. This volume consisting of about 200 and odd documents throws interesting light on local history. The documents in it relate to the *Madad-i-Maash* and the grants made by the Mughal sovereigns in consideration of poverty, piety and literary gifts. The fact that these records are of local interest does not detract from their historical importance. Two features may be particularly mentioned in connection with these records,—firstly, so late as the middle of the 19th century, when the phantom of the Mughal Empire had vanished, there should be the need of meting out justice on the spot by officers who were to ascertain first-hand information and submit at once their reports. This may perhaps inspire confidence in those who, for instance, now-a-days seem to be impatient with the laborious ways of modern justice, and who would resort to prompt and speedy methods of administering the laws as in the past. The next feature which is of particular interest to the present times is that these papers relate to the part which the Hindus played in disputes between Muslim litigants. For instance, in the Mallawan papers the witnesses were Hindus who affixed their signatures in Hindi, the Hindi equivalent for witnesses, *Sākshi* being freely used. We also find in these records another fact which relates to the composite character of witnesses, and of parties which comprised both Hindus and Muslims alike. This proves the Hindus and Muslims particularly in the 17th century lived on friendly terms. Prof. Saxena, who has freely translated documents which are in Persian, deserves our warmest thanks for co-operating with the U.P. Government Record Office, Allahabad, and for bringing out this readable, interesting and useful volume.

We now turn to the following three volumes edited by Dr. G. N. Saletore, Keeper of Records, U. P. Government Record Office, Allahabad.

In the *Press-List of Pre-Mutiny Records, Banaras Correspondence (1776-1789)*, which comprises the earliest series of records available in the Central

Record Office at Allahabad, Dr. Saletore has with considerable diligence worked through the voluminous letters which were not arranged chronologically and which were lacking in indexes. This volume is full of details on the various aspects of administration like the Revenue, Judiciary, Commerce, Trade and Industry, etc.

In the *Selection from the English Records No. 1—Banaras Affairs (1788-1810)*, Vol. I, we have the despatches of the Governor General, the Residents of Banaras and Lucknow, the officials and other distinguished personages, relating to the history and administration of the province of Banaras from 1788 till 1810. This volume is arranged in four parts:—the first, dealing with the imperial Mughal Prince Jahandar Shah and his family at Banaras; the second, with the judicial system at Banaras; the third, with trade and commerce; and the fourth, with the main aspects of revenue administration of the country. The records relating to the Banaras branch of the Mughal family are edited for the first time in this volume. The special value of this volume lies in the fact that the information supplied by the Government Record Office, Allahabad, has been supplemented by the English and Persian correspondence available at the National Archives of India, New Delhi, and also by a study of the contemporary Maratha newsletters of Mahadji Sindhia and others, Khair-ud-din's *Ibratnamah*, Munna Lal's history of the first thirteen years of Shah Alam's reign, Ghulam Ali's *Imad-us-Sadat*, and *Akhbar Deorhi* of Jahandar Shah which are preserved in the Central Record Office, Allahabad. This method which the learned author has adopted in the volume under survey, of studying one set of records with the help of all contemporary documents is the proper way of arriving at fairly accurate picture of the past. The section on Jawan Bakht Jahandar Shah, the eldest son of Shah Alam II, (pp. 1-62) makes fascinating reading. From these records emerges the poor Mughal prince whose sudden death on 31st May 1788 due to cholera at Chunar, removed from the scene a scion of the Imperial family of Delhi, thereby closing one act in the sad drama that was enacted in northern India towards the end of the 18th century. The section on the Judicial System (pp. 62-138) contains very useful details in regard to the administration of justice which came to be imposed in this region in 1781 under orders of Governor General Warren Hastings. The section on Trade and Commerce (pp. 139-184) deals with the policy of the East India Company in regard to the trade with the dominions of the Marathas, the Nawab Vazir of Avadh and the Raja of Nepal together with the measures adopted by them for meeting the needs of internal commerce. The section on Revenue Administration (pp. 185-246) concerns the measures adopted by the East India Company through their Residents at Banaras and Lucknow for increasing the land under cultivation and thereby adding to the material comforts of the people. We would recommend this very important publication to all scholars of Indian history dealing with the early days of the East India Company.

In the *Selection from English Records No. 2—Henry Wellesley's*

Correspondence (1801-1803), Dr. Saletore has placed at the disposal of research scholars a very useful set of records dealing with the last phase of the administration of the Nawab Vazir of Avadh when his sovereignty over a large part of his dominions was finally transferred to the East India Company on 14 November 1801. Along with the Nawab Vazir, the Nawab of Farrukhabad also surrendered his territories to the East India Company in 1802 and obtained an annual subsidy from the British Government. The records in this volume are of considerable significance in regard to the general condition of the country; the endeavours of the British to bring order out of chaos; and duties of the District Magistrates and Collectors; the attempts made to institute a Land Revenue Settlement and to give relief to the cultivators and miscellaneous items like the monopoly in salt, taxes on intoxicating liquors, regulations dealing with the coinage and mints, the rights and the duties of *Tehsildars*, *Amins*, etc., all of which are of great utility in unravelling the history of the districts of Gorakhpur (including Azamgurh and Busti), Allahabad (including Fattepur), Kanpur (Etwah), Etah, Mainpuri, Bareilly and Moradabad.

The *Administrative Report of the Government Central Record Office, Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad (1949-54)* gives in a small compass of 76 pages an account of the solid work done by the U.P. Government in regard to the acquisition, maintenance and preservation of records in their custody and in helping the cause of historical research in the Central Record Office, Allahabad.

It is a matter of very great pride and satisfaction that the U.P. Government should have brought forward these publications, within less than six years after the setting up of their Central Record Office, and thereby considerably added to our knowledge of the period under discussion, particularly at a time, when, we must confess, proper attention to the preservation, maintenance and interpretation of historical records is not given in our country. We would congratulate Dr. B. P. Saxena, Dr. G. N. Saletore and Mr. Kashi Prashad Srivastava, Asstt. Keeper of Records, for the expeditious and excellent manner in which they have got these volumes printed and published. The U.P. Government have set an example to the rest of India in the matter of fixing the prices of the volumes, the costliest of which is under Rs. 5/- It is to be hoped that the laudable example of the U.P. Government will be copied by such of the State Governments as have not yet established their State Record Offices, and have not brought forward any publications relating to the archival assets in their custody.

B. A. SALETORE

Side-Lights on Auckland's Foreign Policy by K. Sajun Lal (Hyderabad-Deccan, 1955 : pp. xxii + 170 ; price Rs. 5/-).

THE author, who has long been engaged in the tremendous task of collecting the old News-letters, deserves to be congratulated on the publication of this volume containing ten Secret and Confidential News-letters of

the year 1841, which throw a flood of light on the events of the Governor-Generalship of Lord Auckland. The letters, written as these were by the Political Agents and Residents to the Central Government, help us to understand the main currents of thought of those times. Some of the details, which might have been of some interest to the contemporaries, are dull, drab and colourless. Thus the account of the events recorded by the Resident in the Persian Gulf or the Political Agent in Turkish Arabia, is not very informative. The greater portion of the book, however, is of considerable interest. The activities of the British Political Officers in Afghanistan, the rivalry for power between the various factions in the Punjab and the dominant personality of the Rani of Nepal, the focus of intrigues against the British Government, are vividly described and are of great historical value. The ramifications of the British policy in Central Asia and Afghanistan are traced at length. We get interesting details about the dynamic personality of Yar Muhammad, the Vazir of Herat—"the most accomplished villain in Central Asia." His subtle intrigues, overweening ambition, clever diplomacy and limitless capacity for mischief are well brought out. Of even greater importance is the account of the shifting politics of the Punjab after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The struggle for power between the rival factions sapped the vitality of the State with the result that it generated forces of disorder which led to the downfall of the Khalsa. The News-letters reveal indeed a pathological state of affairs. We find Raja Dhyan Singh, the Chief Minister, unable to control the Sikh soldiers, resorting to the expedient of raising troops from the hilly area. We find the subordination of the public service to private interests, the bane of Indian Politics, e.g. Rani Chand Kaur, in revenge for the treatment accorded to her, intriguing with the British for ousting the rivals from power. The worst feature of the administration was the inability of the incompetent civil power to control the powerful army. The sepoys of the battalion under Mr. John Horne at Koolloo beat the officer. Four battalions rose in revolt against the authority of General Avitabile. General Teja Singh was shot at while returning from the Durbar. A turbulent nobility at cross purposes with the army—such is the picture of the Punjab presented with unerring skill by the writers of these News-letters. The News-letters from Nepal are of considerable interest for they present to us a picture of divided loyalties—the Raja trying to maintain good relations with the British Government and the Rani and her supporters—Misr Gooroo and Kala Pandys—pursuing an anti-British policy. Apart from giving us an insight into the state of affairs of the Punjab, Afghanistan and Nepal the News-letters supply us much additional information. We are informed of the progress of medical education in Hyderabad, the training of the troops of the Raja of Satara by an European officer, the refusal of the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawur to station the Kotah Contingent in his territory etc. The book contains in brief a store of information of immense historical value.

Jesuit Letters and Indian History by John Correia Alfonso, (Indian Historical Research Institute, Studies in Indian History No. 20, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, 1955, pp. xxxix + 193, five illustrations and one map: price Rs. 7/8/- or \$ 2.0 or sh. 13/6).

THIS diagnosis of the raw materials of history provided by the Jesuit letters from India (A.D. 1542-1773) is almost a pathfinder's task (from the point of the view of Indian historians), done critically and conscientiously. The author's exposition of the nature and development of those letters and of their value for Indian historiography is eminently readable and judicially impartial. It begins with a snapshot of the progress of historiography from Ranke to Toynbee in order to arrive at an up-to-date criterion of the real worth of the documents in question. The area of Jesuit activity in India is mapped out in chapter V: the various missions were named after the Mughal, Bengal, Carnatic, Mysore and Madura. The present reviewer's estimate of the value of Jesuit evidence made in 1924, quoted on page 52, is amplified and reinforced in his forthcoming *Tamilaham in the 17th Century* (Sir William Meyer Lectures, 1954-55, University of Madras), the last lecture being devoted to the evidential value of the quasi-foreign epistolary sources, viz., the Jesuit letters from India. The author gives an account of eight representative writers of Jesuit letters: Frois, Pimenta, Goncalves, De Proenca, Freyre, Botelho, Martin and Beschi. "The official letters as a whole must be rated very highly indeed from the point of view of reliability; they were written regularly, and with care and consideration, on subjects connected with the writer's work, and often under his direct observation. The confidential reports to the superiors of the Order—which in recent years are being published together with the other Jesuit documents—are the most dependable, since a degree of accuracy and sincerity is to be expected of them. The unofficial letters have to be read with greater caution as regards their accuracy, especially when they record happenings not witnessed by the writer." (p. 99). The Jesuit histories, the products of the Jesuit letters, are secondary sources: the works of Da Costa, Maffei, Valignano, Peruschi, Guzman, Guerreiro, Du Jarric, Bartoli, De Magistris, and De Souza. The bulk of the official letters of the missionaries are now found at Rome, Lisbon and Goa. Well known is the value of the Jesuit letters from Canada, Brazil, Peru, Mexico, Paraguay, Chile, Abyssinia, China, Japan, Central Asia, and Tibet. "To-day no historian of India worthy of name can ignore the existence of Jesuit documents bearing especially on the history of the northern, western and southern portions of the country, between the years 1542 and 1773." (P. 109.) The Appendices provide an index to John Lockman's *Travels of the Jesuits*, 2 vols.; the chief contributions by Father H. Hosten to the history of the Jesuits in India; a list of archives of special interest for students of Indian History; and a tentative list of the principal editions of the Jesuit letters from India, 1542-1773. The volume contains an index, five illustrations, a map of the principal

administrative divisions and stations, and a full bibliography. On page xx is mentioned Sarkar's *Shivaji and his Times*, 4th edition 1948, not the 5th edition 1952. Misprints occur on pages 10, 15, 128-29, 137, 139, 144, 153, and 160. We cordially welcome this doctoral dissertation and endorse the observation of Georg Schürhammar that "a critical edition of these Jesuit letters---at present mostly unpublished, or published in extremely rare works, translated, disfigured and shortened—is therefore one of the most urgent requisites for all occupied with oriental, and especially Indian, history." We hope that the implementation of this desideratum will result in a thorough exploitation of a most fruitful source of Indian History.

R. SATHIANATHAIER

Local Records—Their Nature and Care edited by Lilian J. Redstone and Francis W. Steer (Society of Local Archivists, London 1953, pp. xv + 246; price 25 sh. net.)

THE Society of Local Archivists deserves to be congratulated on bringing out this very useful book. It gives a comprehensive idea of the wealth of source material held by the county repositories in England on local history and should stimulate the imagination of all those interested in local chronicles. As the Editors point out, it is not intended to provide general theories of sound archives administration or a through guide to materials for local history. What the book does provide is descriptions of some particular aspects of the work by various contributors (all specialists in the line) against the background of their experience and knowledge of actual practice in various local record offices.

As the title of the book suggests, its scope is limited and does not cover national and other repositories of national records. It concerns itself mainly with those repositories which have custody of records of local origin or interest.

Chapters I-XIII covering two of the four sections of the book, namely "The Local Record Office" and "The Archivist at Work" give a picture of the administrative setup and of the regular work of the English local archivist in his varied surroundings. Duties of a local archivist are numerous and his responsibilities immense. Apart from attending to the accessioning of records and their preservation, he has to serve as an expert and a natural adviser to any person or organisation holding records within his county or borough. Upon him lies the moral responsibility of providing against the destruction or dispersal of records in private or public possession within his area. He has to make arrangements for collecting, arranging, listing and producing the records under his care. In other words his object as succinctly brought out in the book is "to make them of use, yet his first charge is to prevent them from ill use".

It is refreshing to note the great part played by public libraries and local societies in England in safeguarding the local records from indiscriminate destruction. It is to this voluntary effort, unstintedly given, that England owes a great debt.

For classifying or 'methodising' a collection the authors enunciate five principles which though sufficiently known, will bear repetition. They are: (a) always regard provenance as the guiding principle: (b) never disturb the arrangement of the collection more than is necessary for the purpose of listing (c) make a clear note when a "stray" is transferred or a map removed for safer storage (d) view the collection as a whole, obtaining the maximum background information before attempting to sort or classify and finally (e) as far as possible, work from the known to the unknown.

The chapter on repair work describes the important processes of repair in actual use. These processes with some local variations can be copied with advantage by any record office in the world.

The third section "Notes on Local Records" is particularly useful inasmuch as one obtains in one place a concise general description of all the main classes of records which are to be found in local muniments.

The Bibliography at the end covers most of the important archival publications and reference works published in England.

The readers will find this book a useful complement to Sir Hilary Jenkinson's *A Manual of Archive Administration* and Dr. G. H. Fowler's *Care of County Muniments*. In fact, an archivist will find in it a convenient solution to most of the everyday problems that arise now and again in the course of his work.

DHAN KESWANI

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MODERN DEPARTMENTAL RECORDS

THE problem of the modern Departmental record is many-sided. The administrator, on the one hand, is concerned with its efficiency as a tool for the transaction of business: the file of correspondence and other papers dealing with a particular subject—the characteristic form of records—is often so bulky that the contents cannot be quickly mastered. Possible remedies suggested by 'organisation and methods' experts have been to restrict minutes to one for every division through which a file passes, or to circulate only the final draft of a paper. Again, the historian may question the value of modern Departmental records as a source of information for research purposes: he is faced with the notorious fact that high-level decisions on policy are nowadays as likely as not to go officially unrecorded; and the increased possibility of early publication must make it less certain than ever that even a top-secret document tells the whole truth. The archivist too is interested in such aspects of the problem; and in one or two cases has promoted—or has striven after power to promote—reforms in these directions. But the main problem for him is the strictly practical one of how to cope with the accumulations of papers now existing and accruing in the offices of Government Agencies. This is the angle from which I shall try to treat of the subject here, describing by way of illustration recent developments within the province of the English Public Record Office.

Their sheer bulk is the dominating factor in dealing with the records of present-day Government Departments. Mechanical devices for the reproduction of the written word invented during the past hundred years and the quicker means of communication available have enormously swollen the stream of documents produced in the course of administration. In the case of a large English Government Department the shelving to accommodate a year's accumulation of documents must be reckoned in terms of miles: in the Home Office they are estimated to occupy over half a mile and in the Ministry of Supply as many as 12 miles. Moreover, the sources of this flood of paper have been multiplied in recent years by the extension of State control and supervision into all manner

of activities formerly left to private enterprise or philanthropy. The problem is also aggravated by the expensiveness of office accommodation in central metropolitan areas, an effect of which is that the space allowed in new buildings for record storage is cut to the minimum necessary for current business, and even so much of the basement space which would in the past have provided ample record rooms is often nowadays assigned to canteens and recreation rooms for the staff. Finally, in this country shortage of staff in the recent times of war and economic depression has caused a slowing up and sometimes a complete cessation of the disposal of old papers, so that besides the increasing pile-up of current papers Departments are burdened with heavy arrears of reviewing.

The full gravity of the situation in England became apparent to the Government when in 1951 the Treasury collected figures from the Departments of the bulk of their non-current documents and their estimates of the quantity which would ultimately be preserved under the present system. It was shown that, if all existing material destined for the Public Record Office were to be transferred thither, the storage accommodation at present available would have to be enlarged by 150 per cent, and that to house future accruals a new building of the size of the present Record Office would have to be provided every ten years. The Government decided that a solution to the problem must immediately be sought, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer set up a Committee "to review the arrangements for the preservation of the records of Government Departments . . . in the light of the rate at which they are accumulating and of the purposes which they are intended to serve and to make recommendations as to the changes, if any, in law and practice which are required". This Committee had as its Chairman Sir James Grigg, Secretary of State for War from 1942 to 1945 (who previous to that served as Finance Member of the Government of India from 1934 to 1939 and was Under-Secretary for War from 1939 to 1942). The rest of its membership (six in number, and jointly nominated by the Chancellor and the Master of the Rolls, the head of the Public Record Office) was selected from people eminent in various activities, capable of bringing an authoritative opinion to bear on the problem from the angles of historical and economic research, the law and administration. No professional archivist, be it noted, was a member; and the technical expert—usually wedded to a theory or to established practice—contributed only as consultant or witness to the decisions reached. The Report of the Committee was presented to the Chancellor at the end of May 1954 and has been published as a Parliamentary Paper by Her Majesty's Stationery Office (Cmd. 9163).

Before discussing the reforms recommended in the Committee's Report the present position of the Public Record Office with regard to Departmental records must be briefly described. The Office was set up by Act of Parliament in 1838 to concentrate in a single properly organised national archives, in the custody of the Master of the Rolls, the ancient documents of the Courts of Law, then housed in many, sometimes dangerous, repositories in the care of separate, and sometimes irresponsible, custodians. The Act provided for other public records to be brought within the scope of the scheme by Order in Council: and this power was exercised in 1852 by a comprehensive Order covering all records of the Crown in any Department, Court or Office. The Departments—which had indeed already begun to transmit documents—were thus legally made subject to the Act. Nevertheless, it was thought expedient not to take the documents of Departments completely out of their control. An agreement had been made with the Treasury in 1845 on the terms under which Departmental records should be deposited in the Public Record Office, and temporarily or permanently withdrawn therefrom, entirely at the discretion of the owning Department, the effect of which was that the Record Office was to be, in the words of the then head of the Office, "merely auxiliary or subservient to the respective offices to which the documents and papers belong". The date at which documents would be transferred and the conditions of access were left to the decision of the Departments, which might also at their own discretion recall them at any time. This arrangement, on account of its practical usefulness, continued to be observed after the 1852 Order became operative, and still is: the machinery provided by the 1838 Act for taking documents into the full custody of the Public Record Office, and always used in the case of records of the Law Courts, is never applied to records of the Departments. There is thus at present much inconsistency, as between Departments, in the age and proportion of Departmental records sent to the Public Record Office, where they now vastly outnumber the legal records, nor is there uniformity as to conditions of access, though the persuasions of the Public Record Office to adopt a standard "open date" have met with some response.

The statutory procedure, instituted by statute in 1877, for the elimination of documents not considered worth preserving permanently is in harmony with the arrangement just described: it shows the same care to ensure that the needs of administration are not overlooked in providing for those of research. The procedure cannot be applied to the documents of any Government Agency before a formal 'Rule' signed by the Master of the Rolls has been approved by the Treasury and by the

head of the Agency, laid before Parliament for nine weeks and finally approved by Order in Council. A Department, having thus acquired the power to dispose of unwanted documents, implements it in accordance with general Rules made by the Master of the Rolls under the Act, the current Rules being those which came into operation in 1890, with some later amendments. It submits to the Public Record Office a 'Schedule' of classes of documents which it considers can be discarded after specified dates or periods. This is considered by a committee composed of "Inspecting Officers" of the Public Record Office (not less than three in number, one being the Deputy Keeper and one a barrister) and a representative of the Department, and specimens of the various classes are examined. No documents may be scheduled "which can reasonably be considered of legal, historical, genealogical or antiquarian use or value, or which give any important information not to be obtained elsewhere". The Schedule, when settled, is signed by the Inspecting Officers and the Departmental representative, and after approval by the Master of the Rolls and the head of the Department has to lie before Parliament for four weeks before it becomes operative. The usual mode of disposal authorised is destruction, but there is power to schedule documents for presentation to the Government of one of Her Majesty's Dominions or a library in one of those Dominions. It has become customary in recent years to insert in these Schedules safeguards against negligent or too summary execution of their provisions: the preface frequently includes a list of classes specifically excluded from destruction; and there is usually a stipulation that the segregating of the documents to be disposed of will be entrusted to competent officers of the Department, who will extract any papers likely to be of value as a precedent or to be useful for legal or historical purposes or for social or economic research. The application of the Schedules is left to the Departments themselves. This has been long recognised as a weakness, since it means that the duty of selecting documents which may be of value for other than administrative uses falls upon Departmental staff qualified only to distinguish what their Department may need to keep for its own purposes, and too often staff at that who have been put on to record work because they are regarded as the members of the Department least useful for its normal work. To counter it, the Public Record Office has for some years past issued printed pamphlets setting out the general principles which ought to be observed in the elimination of worthless papers. It has indeed been found that the arrangement does not in practice result in serious loss of historically valuable material; had there been reason to think that it did, steps towards its reform would certainly have been

taken long ago. Departments as a rule work out for themselves an efficient, though perhaps rough, code of evaluation ; and the chief practical vices of the system, in the experience of the present writer, are a tendency to preserve as historically valuable too much that has small claim to be considered as such, and inconsistency as between Departments in standards of historical value.

It should be mentioned with regard to these Schedules that during the past 40 years the Record Office has been wont to obtain from Departments for permanent preservation specimens of the classes of documents they destroy under them. The practice has no statutory authority ; and the specimen documents received—generally of recent date—have never been made available for research. But its potential usefulness seems obvious ; and it is to be hoped that it will be found practicable to maintain a similar arrangement under the new reviewing procedure, which is about to be introduced.

An activity of the Public Record Office, particularly concerned with modern Departmental records, has been developed within quite recent years. During the War instances came to light of the haphazard and negligent way in which Government Departments were being allowed to store large quantities of documents. It was possible for one Department's record store to be seized for another Department's urgent requirements and its contents stacked in a field. In another case the destruction by enemy action of one of these accumulations—in a wooden building in a vulnerable area—occasioned serious administrative inconvenience, which is still felt, to say nothing of the loss to posterity. Such incidents pointed to a need for safer and more settled storage arrangements ; and after the War the Office pressed for an 'Intermediate Repository', where Departments might store documents no longer current but not yet ready for destruction or for transfer to the Record Office, the Departments retaining complete control of their papers, but the building and storage arrangements being the responsibility of the Public Record Office. The design was first and foremost greater security not only against the danger of fire and flood, but against the risk of damage and disorder which are wont to result from frequent removal. A further advantage was that the selection of papers for preservation would be carried out more conveniently there and under the eye of the Public Record Office. Some of the underground 'Deep Shelters' built during the War were first allocated for the new Intermediate Repositories—commonly known by their nickname of 'Limbo'. The shelters had later to be relinquished ; and alternative accommodation was found, not without difficulty, in a disused gun-factory at Hayes, Middlesex, in the

western outskirts of London. When completely fitted out with permanent steel racking the buildings there will contain 800,000 linear feet of shelving. National shortages of money and of steel for a long time hindered the installing of this equipment and much of the contents of 'Limbo' is stored at present in an uneconomical way on temporary shelving or on the floor on dunnage. But faster progress is now being made. There are at present 469,000 feet of storage space occupied by documents belonging to some 30 Government Agencies in this and two small temporary stores, of which 401,000 feet are at Hayes. It is worthy of note that the inception of the Intermediate Repository scheme in this country was almost exactly contemporaneous with the parallel institution of Federal Record Centres in the United States. Their origins were different and the problems they were respectively designed to meet were not precisely similar : in America the main object was to effect a saving in costly central-office space and filing equipment, but in both cases they represent an attempt to cope with the mountainous accumulation of modern official records. The recently published *Task Force Report on Paperwork Management* (January 1955) prepared for the Commission on Organisation of the Executive Branch of the Government, and that Commission's *Report to Congress* published at the same time, testify, by recommendations for its extension, to the success (particularly as a financial economy) of the Record Centre scheme.

The system described above is criticised by the Grigg Committee on many points as inadequate and cumbersome ; and they trace its faults to the foundations on which it rests. "The present arrangements for the preservation of the records of Government Departments are", they claim, "governed by an Act of 1838 which was not meant to apply to them, an Act of 1877 which makes the selection of records for preservation about as complicated as it can be, and an agreement of 1845 which removes from those responsible for the ultimate preservation of the records a proper oversight of them." They therefore propose legislation to repeal the old system and set up one based on sounder principles. It is not to be inferred from this that the present arrangements are considered to have broken down. Nor will the charge of complexity against the 1877 procedure be admitted without qualification by those having practical experience of its working. But they will be the first to admit that—particularly with regard to elimination—while the machine has been made to work effectively, it creaks ; and that, if allowed to continue, it would too probably prove unequal to the strain, now beginning to be felt, of the past few decades' huge accumulation of records. So the change will be welcomed as timely.

The Committee's recommendations include some of particular interest—for example, those concerned with accommodation, and film records—designed to deal with circumstances peculiar to England. But space, and the need to treat only of those features of the Report which can be brought into the picture of Departmental records in general, forbid us to discuss them. As has already been said, sheer bulk is the great difficulty posed by modern official documents. It was to seek remedies for this that the Committee were appointed, and it is their recommendations on this that call for attention here.

The present system is condemned for the defect already referred to, namely, that Departmental staff engaged in reviewing documents are called upon to assess the value of papers not only for the purposes of their Department, but for historical and every other kind of research. "It is a gigantic task", the Committee say, "and on that account must inevitably be allotted to junior staff" (*i.e.*, officials of a low grade). The remedy proposed is to reduce the work of junior staff as far as possible to routine, and to ensure that the actual decisions as to what is to be retained are taken in accordance with a criterion which the staff responsible for making them will find it practicable to apply. They maintain that this is impossible so long as the "historical criterion" is to be applied directly to the whole range of a Department's papers. They have therefore sought to devise a way in which it might be applied indirectly. It can be done, they claim, if it can be ensured that the reviewer asking himself the question "Is the Department likely to require this paper any longer for its own Departmental purposes?" will arrive at the same answer as if the question had been "Is this paper likely to be of historical or legal importance or to be useful for social or economic research?". But they point out that it must be subject to the following three provisos. First, the question must be asked in a very short time after the paper has ceased to be in active use. Second, the words "for its own Departmental purposes" must be taken to cover the likelihood of the paper being required as a precedent or as a guide to action should a similar set of circumstances arise in the future (they are thinking here particularly of papers of defunct organisations and the like). Third, special arrangements must be made for what they call "particular instance" papers—groups of "case" papers, the subject matter of which is the same, but each paper or file relating to a different person, body or place—for which they prescribe a special treatment.

They therefore propose that Departments should review their records not later than five years after they have passed out of active use and destroy all which they do not need to retain further for their own

Departmental purposes. Papers, they argue, which a Department feels safe in throwing away after so short a period can equally safely be regarded as worthless for the purpose of research. They admit that some material may be lost which the historian would have wished to see preserved ; but some such loss is inevitable under any system, and under theirs, they claim, the loss of significant material will be reduced to a minimum.

It is reckoned that this "first review"—based solely on Departmental usefulness, and resulting, according to estimates furnished by various Departments, in the early destruction of from 50 to 90 per cent of their papers—will ensure that all papers likely to be important for historical purposes will be retained. But it does not follow that all papers thus retained will be permanently useful for historical purposes any more than that they will all be permanently useful to the Department. It is therefore proposed that, when the papers surviving the "first review" attain the age of, say, 25 years, they shall undergo a "second review" at which a final decision on their permanent value will be taken. Since the quantity of documents involved will, as a result of the "first review", have been reduced to manageable proportions, it will be possible to apply the historical criterion direct by a combined operation at this "second review", the Department assessing the documents' value for Departmental purposes, and representatives of the Public Record Office their usefulness for research.

The Committee in propounding this attractively simple principle of selection of documents for preservation have not overlooked the fact—which will at once occur to any one having practical experience of the matter—that it could only be applied successfully subject to certain conditions. For one thing, the physical massiveness of the task of reviewing modern Departmental records will necessitate the abandonment of any idea of assessing the value of individual papers: it must be possible for the work to be done by "junior" staff, who can withdraw entire files in specified categories without scrutinising their contents. The compilation of the list of categories selected for early destruction, at the "first review", will be in the hands of a "Departmental Records Officer" acting in consultation with the officers of the branches to which the papers relate. An obvious objection to the plan, as it stands, will immediately spring to the mind—how can the selector of the categories to be destroyed be certain that the titles of the files accurately describe their contents? Too often the business which a particular file was designed to cover changes its character : or a file originally intended to deal with a specific subject will be used to house papers only remotely

connected with it. This has not escaped attention: the Committee point out more than once that the identification of files for the purpose of review is to be based on the registration system in use, and that this system must be designed to ensure that the title of a file accurately describes its contents. It will be for the Departmental Registry to see that it does. Nor, in making this point, have they overlooked the probable complaint that their proposals will involve a Department in a great deal of work and trouble unnecessary for the performance of the Department's work: they criticise as "a most short-sighted policy" the common practice of allotting the registration of current papers to the less able among the Departmental staff. They record it as their belief that, if Departments paid more attention to the work of their Registries, "they would gain advantages to themselves that would have as a by-product the production of better quality records for the Public Record Office".

Government Departments, with only a few exceptions (mainly those whose records include a high proportion of "policy" files), have pronounced this method of selection workable. It seems indeed to have been inspired by a "double review" system which has for many years been practised in one of the "Service" Departments. It is, moreover, anticipated that it will fit in very well with the system of decentralised registration which has been or is being introduced in some of the larger Ministries. At the same time, as the Grigg Committee themselves recognise, it will necessarily have to be tailored to fit the special requirements of individual Departments. For example, the subjects dealt with in the course of its business by a Government Agency concerned with commerce are constantly changing, or acquiring or losing importance, and in such cases it may not always be possible to assess the administrative value of a file simply by its title. Again, some Departments, though willing to adopt the new arrangements, may feel it impossible immediately to introduce a registration system such as that prescribed by the Grigg Committee—one which will permit of files destroyable at the "first review" being identified simply by their titles. In their case the material of short term administrative value may, as a temporary measure, have to be identified by some other means: perhaps, by providing that the officers whose work they concern indicate by some distinguishing mark, when files are sent to the Registry to be "put away", those which they consider should be kept longer than five years. A further difficulty likely to be generally encountered will be a tendency on the part of Departmental staff to overcaution about agreeing to the release of papers at the "first review". Since the success of the plan depends on only a comparatively small residue of papers being allowed to survive until the

"second review", the Departmental Records Officer will have to be on continual guard against such obstructions. It is likely that not infrequently he will only be able to satisfy the scruples of his Departmental colleagues by agreeing to the retention of some papers for a year or two (without further review) beyond the normal "first review" period of five years—an expedient countenanced by the Committee's Report, but with a warning against using it extensively. Elsewhere a strong demand may be met for reviewing files for the first time at a somewhat later age than five years after they have been "put away": the shortness of the "first review" period being a cardinal point of the new system, such a deviation could obviously only be agreed to for very special reasons.

Having thus proposed a practicable way of dealing with one of the chief difficulties about modern Departmental records, that of winnowing the great mass of chaff from the small residue of useful material, the Committee offer recommendations on another outstanding problem—that of the "particular instance" papers, which, as had already been mentioned, they single out for treatment distinct from that proposed for the general files. These are the files, returns and papers dealing with particular persons, bodies or places, records of births, marriages and deaths, census papers, records of service of men in the fighting forces, returns of registered companies, national insurance case papers, passenger lists and so on. The bulk of such classes of documents has always been great, and modern social legislation, and the extended scale on which the modern state operates whether in peace or war, has greatly increased their number and size. But the problem of their disposal is one not so much of mechanics (as it is in the case of the ordinary files) as of principle. Their term of administrative usefulness, though sometimes long, is not commonly permanent. But many of them contain information which is found to be of interest in the future to the researcher: to the economist investigating the development of some commercial trend, to the biographer unravelling the early career of a celebrity, or to the private person seeking to trace his ancestry. How far is the State justified in going to enable the student to continue to find the same wealth of detail as is now available to him in "particular instance" papers already in the national archives? The problem is further complicated by the guarantee of secrecy which the Government has given in the case of certain categories, such as production returns. The Committee confess themselves unable to offer a cut and dried solution. They propose a Committee under the auspices of the Public Record Office to conduct a census of all such classes of papers, to consider the problem posed by the confidentiality of certain of them, and to decide what papers and

how many should be kept. But they do suggest "as a general principle, that, because of the frightening consideration of bulk, and with the exception of records . . . relating to the registration of births, marriages and deaths, only those papers should be kept which are capable of being reduced to a statistical sample". This is not a novel idea: it has been adopted, as the only practicable expedient, in the case of not a few classes of English Public Records, sometimes on the initiative of the Department concerned, with an eye to its own needs. Of certain annual tax records of the Inland Revenue, for example, those for every tenth year only are preserved; returns of registered companies to the Board of Trade are destroyed, on the dissolution of the company, except for the first, the last and every fifth intermediate returns; and a representative sample of case papers of applications for National Assistance is retained for every year. In the case of certain classes of documents of this kind the precaution was taken of consulting University economists before the decision was made to retain only a proportion of the papers; and there has been no evidence subsequently, when the surviving papers have been made available to the public, of the research value of these classes being impaired by their incompleteness. The policy of retaining permanently a sample of each class of "particular instance" papers may therefore be accepted as a practical solution where their interest is confined to economics and like general fields of inquiry. But where a class is valuable primarily for the information it affords about individual persons, bodies or places, no such expedient is possible, save perhaps in the case of documents like local authorities' Rate Books, which tend to repeat the same information year after year and are thus amenable to the procedure of keeping a periodical sample. It is a case of preserving "all or none"; and in recommending that "none" should be the rule, the Grigg Committee are proposing a drastic change of policy. The change is to be regretted, not so much perhaps on the biographer's or the pedigreehunter's account as because the investigation of a particular case is often found to open up a line of general inquiry. But it is one which has been for a long time recognised as inevitable by many in this country who have had experience of modern official records. That the same conclusion has been reached in the United States of America is shown by the *Task Force Report on Paperwork Management* already referred to: with reference to "military personnel, pensions and similar records", they say, "owing to the tremendous growth in the volume of such records and their increased standardization in the 20th century . . . it is doubtful whether comparable records of the more recent period ought to be kept so extensively." The committee who are

to decide the fate of "particular instance" papers will nevertheless not have a straightforward task. They will have to establish beyond a doubt, before deciding against keeping a class, that it has no wider usefulness than as a source of information about particular cases. And even so, they should be on their guard against destroying papers containing information about particular cases which might have an important practical usefulness to individuals in the future, as, for instance, supplying evidence of ancestry which would enable them to establish their civic status ; in this country Army records were before the War frequently searched by Germans seeking to prove Aryan origin, and latterly by residents in India or Pakistan wishing to claim British citizenship. They will, further, need to have constant recourse to the advisory panel of outside experts, which, the Grigg Committee recommend, should be established.

It is claimed for this new system that, besides ensuring more efficient elimination of unwanted papers, it will result in a more systematic "retirement" of records to the national archives. At present the regular, periodical transfer of records from Department to Record Office is exceptional in this country, and the same complaint is heard from archivists elsewhere, even in countries where records are supposed by law to be transferred when of a specified age. One or two of the principal Departments have done it for many years ; but generally it is spasmodic, done only when the Department's record store has become intolerably full, and even then not always extending over the whole range of the Department's documents, but only a few classes. The principal cause of this is lack of a regular routine: work on reviewing non-current records is too apt to be an occasional operation undertaken when shortage of space compels and when staff can be diverted to it ; and, even when reviewing is going on all the time, there is a common tendency to concentrate on a few principal classes, the weeding of which happens to be more rewarding than the rest. The punctual routine examination of all documents, therefore, when they reach a specified age (which should now be practicable with the simplified procedure) and the automatic transfer of all those judged to be worth keeping, should do away with the present unsatisfactory position, under which the student of modern records cannot be certain that he has available to him all the extant material bearing on the subject of his inquiry.

The Grigg Committee make a further proposal affecting the availability of modern records to the public. They suggest that, with the exception of classes which for special administrative reasons have to be withheld for a longer period, Departmental records should be made

accessible to searchers at the Record Office when 50 years old and not before. The main object of this rule would be to ensure that the "unselfconsciousness" of a document is not impaired—that the official who compiled it would not be influenced in any way by knowing that what he was writing would be available to the public during his lifetime. This proposal may at first sight seem somewhat sweeping: there are, as every archivist knows, not a few types of records of permanent value—registers or statistics and such like "anonymous" compilations—which this consideration would be most unlikely to affect, and there would seem to be no reason for keeping them inaccessible for so long. Nevertheless, there would be this advantage, that papers of the same date destined for preservation would be made available simultaneously and not piecemeal as they now usually are; and it need be no obstacle to a few special categories of documents—muster rolls, or papers of a defunct organisation, for example—being thrown open at an earlier date. Moreover, there is no very drastic change involved: the "open date" prescribed by most Departments for access to their records in the Public Record Office—a particular year moved forward from time to time (at present 1902)—has usually been about 50 years back. In the view of the present writer, the danger seen by the Grigg Committee in allowing access to Departmental papers at too early a date is a real one. There is a growing practice among Departments of giving permission for research among quite recent papers in their own keeping. It is true that such permission is usually only granted when the searcher's object is to collect material on which to base general conclusions only, and that subject to a censorship or a stipulation against subsequent publication of references to identifiable persons or places. Hitherto applications to search recent Departmental material have been limited in number by a prevalent belief in its inaccessibility; but, if ever they became a common thing, as they might well do as soon as papers were known to be regularly retired when 25 years old to the Public Record Office, this consideration could hardly fail to influence the way in which Departmental business was committed to paper. But the Committee do not, they say, wish to make a final pronouncement on this matter, and they suggest that it be re-examined some five years after the new reviewing procedure has been introduced. This matter of access to Departmental records is the one point on which the Government have hesitated to accept the Committee's recommendations: the decision on it is to be deferred until the rest of the proposed changes have been implemented.

The effectiveness of the procedure outlined above will depend largely on the organisation provided to administer it. In some countries the

ideal arrangement has been seen as one where the "elimination" machinery is worked by archivists entirely, the preliminary part being superintended within the Departments by representatives of the national archives seconded for that purpose, and the main work of review being carried out after the documents have been transferred to the national archives. The arrangement in England will be, as it has hitherto been, in a different form, a combined operation, in which both Departments and archives have their roles. The Departments' part will be in the hands, in each case, of the "Departmental Records Officer", of whom mention has already been made. On him will rest the responsibility of ascertaining what papers the Department needs to keep for its own purposes. He will be responsible for the care of all papers from the time when they are created or first received in the Department until they are disposed of either by destruction or by transfer to the Public Record Office; and it is declared by the Grigg Committee important that he "should control—or at least know the whereabouts of—all papers in the Department". The value and significance of this recommendation will be plain to anyone having experience of official archive work, whether national or local. Two conspicuous vices in the record arrangements hitherto prevailing have been absence of continuous routine review of non-current documents, which has already been referred to in the last paragraph but one, and ignorance of Agencies about the extent and nature of their own records. The institution of a Departmental Records Officer, with adequate status, should provide the cure for the latter. Special record officers do already exist in some English Departments, but they seldom have in combination high enough standing and wide enough jurisdiction. Moreover, the overriding responsibility for the reviewing arrangements in each Department is to be "vested in the Director of Establishments or an officer of equivalent status, who should from time to time satisfy himself by inquiry and by sample check that they are being properly operated". Here again the soundness of the proposal will be recognised by all having experience of the matter, who will be aware of the tonic effect which the personal intervention of a senior officer can have on the record arrangements.

The selection of the documents to be preserved is thus to be done in the Departments themselves before transfer to the archives. The part of the Public Record Office will be to co-ordinate and supervise the work of the Departments on their records. There is to be a new Records Administration Division of the Record Office specially charged with this function—the Office has indeed had for some years past a Section responsible for liaison with Departments over the transfer of documents

for preservation and the scheduling of classes of papers considered not worth preserving, but the new procedure calls for closer control and a stronger organisation. The arrangement seems to have been inspired by the similar organisation in the United States Federal Archives, though it does not follow the American model exactly. A "Records Administration Officer" is to be in charge of it, assisted by a small corps of "Inspecting Officers" (not to be confused with the existing body of the same name, whose part in the current schedule-making procedure has been mentioned above). The latter will collaborate with the Departmental Records Officers—each having a group of Departments in his charge. They will advise on and watch over the carrying out of the "first review", but not otherwise participate in it. And, it may be suggested, though this is not specifically referred to in the Committee's Report, the usefulness of the Inspecting Officer at this stage will extend beyond the giving of advice and testing the efficiency of the review: new "particular instance" papers and records of obsolete functions may well come up for consideration, and he will be in a position to see that they receive appropriate treatment. At the "second review" he will join with the Departmental Records Officer in selecting the documents which appear worth keeping permanently at the Public Record Office for research, in addition to those which the Department wishes to keep for its own purposes, consulting, where necessary, his colleagues on the "Archives" side of the Record Office. The Inspecting Officers will, under the chairmanship of the Records Administration Officer, with representatives of the Archives side and of the Department concerned and, if necessary, outside experts, form the Committee which will consider the disposal of "particular instance" papers. The last-mentioned activity—already discussed above—is the most difficult of those planned for the new organisation. But once decisions have been reached on existing classes of case papers and personal records, subsequent activities in this direction will no doubt follow the pattern of those decisions and will be considerably less arduous. On the other hand, the work of segregating the permanently valuable general files, though it will not call for such momentous decisions as that of judging the "particular instance" papers, will present difficulties of a continuing kind. The Inspecting Officers will not only have to satisfy themselves that reviewing work generally is being kept up-to-date and its standard maintained, but the variations from the normal procedure, called for by the special or the changing needs of individual Departments, will also have to be watched carefully. In particular, where a longer retention period than five years is demanded by Departmental officers for material regarded

as of short-term value, the Inspecting Officer will have to scrutinise the case with great care in order to be sure that the categories of papers concerned contain none which ought properly to have the "historical criterion" directly applied to them.

Problems like that just mentioned will call for considerable watchfulness and judgment on the part of the Records Administration Division. But they should be easier to solve when the necessary information has been assembled to enable the Public Record Office to prepare a "*Guide*" for the information of Departmental Records Officers, which the Grigg Committee recommend should be issued with the object of co-ordinating the preservation policies of Departments. The intention is that this pamphlet should offer guidance more detailed and specific than the current memorandum on the elimination of official documents which has been referred to in an earlier paragraph. It would, for instance, lay down a principle for dealing with duplicated material of which copies are held by more than one Department, settling which Department should be responsible for retaining a standard set, and thus enabling the rest to be destroyed. The need for guidance on this kind of point has long been apparent: Departments have often proposed under the present procedure to schedule certain papers for destruction on the assumption that the information contained in them would be preserved elsewhere, but it has not always been easy to establish whether or not that assumption was justified. Lacking a liaison organisation on the scale of that now to be attached to the Public Record Office it has hitherto been impossible to compile an adequately detailed "*vade mecum*" on the disposal of Departmental documents. A subject specially noted by the Committee for inclusion in the "*Guide*", as calling for particular vigilance, is the arrangements for the disposal of a defunct Department's papers and for the handing over of papers when business is transferred from one Department to another. "These", they point out, "are probably the occasions when there is the greatest danger of important papers being destroyed". and, they might have added, not merely papers important for research but ones which may later be urgently needed for official purposes, as has more than once occurred in the case of records of the 1914-18 War period.

The subject of the means by which the new procedure is to be implemented must not be left without referring briefly to the Grigg Committee's recommendation of a change in the constitution of the Public Record Office. At present, as is well known, the Department is headed by the Master of the Rolls, the holder of which office has for centuries past been one of the principal members of the English judi-

ciary, but has always retained certain archival responsibilities going back to the earlier time when his functions were purely executive. Since the Public Record Office Act of 1838 he has been Keeper of the Public Records; but he appoints, with the Sovereign's approval, a Deputy Keeper, who refers to him matters of high policy, but otherwise has complete control of the government of the Office. This has always been found to work smoothly. It has been found of great advantage to the State archive service, as much in recent years as in the more remote past, to have at its head an eminent public figure, versed in affairs; and English archive interests generally have found in him a natural patron and leader. Nevertheless, the Committee have reported on the arrangement adversely, on the ground that, under it, there is no practicable means of enforcing a proper care by Departments of their records. The proper method of settling differences between Government Departments is, they point out, in the ultimate resort by discussion between the Ministers concerned and, if necessary, by reference to the Cabinet itself; and they believe it to have been a serious source of weakness to the Public Record Office in the past that, having no Minister at its head, it has not been able to make use of this machinery. Their Report therefore advises that the Office should have, in place of the Master of the Rolls, a Minister of the Crown as its chief, with a Keeper of the Records under him as permanent official head. It has since been decided by the Government that the new Ministerial head shall be the Lord Chancellor, the head of the judiciary, for it has been felt that, since the Public Records include the archives of the Courts, one of the chief judicial officers should continue to be responsible for them, and also a member of the Government in power. The significance of the proposed reform in connection with the subject of this article is plainly that the disposal of the great mass of papers accumulated by the modern Government Department requires machinery based on stronger sanctions than those which have hitherto sufficed. It can only be successfully tackled by a much closer and more systematic collaboration between the Departments and the State archives, and means must be provided to ensure that any conflict arising in the course of the liaison can be satisfactorily settled. It may also be remarked that the change will bring the English Archives Department into line with its counterparts in most other countries, which are normally within the province of a Minister of the Government.

At this point let us consider again the main feature of the old procedure—the Schedules which have since 1877 provided the authority for the disposal of unwanted State records—against the background of

the new arrangements which have just been described. Foreign archivists have expressed surprise at the proposal to jettison the legal obligation to make such agreed and formally approved lists, which have come to be regarded as an essential check on indiscriminate destruction and the most effectual way of regulating the selection of documents for preservation in the archives. Such indeed they have been in the circumstances existing hitherto. But, the Schedule once settled, its execution has to be left entirely to the Department concerned ; and, as we have seen, the conclusion has been reached that the arrangement is not standing up to the strain of modern conditions. The close liaison by which the Public Record Office is in future to exercise its function of supervision over the Departments' work on their records should without question control the reviewing operations of Departments far more efficiently than any system of approved Schedules : the Public Record Office through its Inspecting Officers will not only be in a position to influence the directions for destruction, but will actually participate in the work of selection. It seems, moreover, to be a more practical mode of control than can be achieved either by seconding archivists to serve as Departmental reviewing officers or by deferring elimination until after the records have reached the national archives, both of which devices have been adopted in other countries. The "agreed list" however can still be expected to have a place in the new system. The directions for destruction will doubtless in many cases actually be lists of categories of papers. It may furthermore be expected that Departmental Records Officers, who are to know the whereabouts of all the records in their care, will compile comprehensive lists of all classes of papers in their respective Departments, similar to the lists made in the Federal Agencies of the United States. The "General Schedules" also current in that country, prescribing a uniform disposal for classes of documents common to all or most Departments, will find a counterpart in the "*Guide for Departmental Record Officers*" which the new Records Administration Organisation of the Public Record Office is recommended to produce. Again, when papers of a network of local offices, such as employment bureaux or the councils administering a national health service, are to be disposed of on a uniform plan, the most convenient form for the necessary directive from headquarters will, no doubt, still be that of the time-honoured Schedule.

Most of this article has been devoted to the problem of extracting from the mass of modern Departmental records what will be worth keeping for the use of posterity. But something must be said also of another suggested way of dealing with these huge accumulations bringing

them down to manageable proportions by reducing the size of the individual documents instead of reducing their number. In recent years the extended use of microphotography for record purposes has found enthusiastic advocates. It has become a common practice in commerce to preserve on microfilm, as a precaution against destruction of the originals, copies of documents essential for the conduct of business. During the War, too, many English documents of historical value were, at the instance of the American Library of Congress and other overseas institutions, reproduced on microfilm as an insurance against their loss by enemy action. Since the War it has become the usual means whereby copies of foreign material are made available for research. Mention may particularly be made of the extensive microfilming for this purpose of the enemy documents captured by the Western powers during the War; in the case of the German Foreign Ministry records, copies of all microfilms made are deposited in the Public Record Office against the time when the originals are returned to Germany. The great advantage of reproducing by microphotography, which received wide advertisement from the wartime use of the "airgraph" letter, is that the copy on film takes up only a very small fraction of the space which the original document would require. The process has, therefore, a very obvious attraction as a possible solution of the problem of storing bulky modern records: why not make microfilm copies for preservation and destroy the originals? There is a saving of storage space of 96 per cent (98 per cent, if "16 millimetre" film be used). Artificial ageing tests are, moreover, claimed to have proved the type of film used to be at least as durable as good rag paper. A policy on these lines has been for some time past prescribed by "efficiency experts". But archivists, in this country at any rate, are not disposed to regard the permanence of microfilm as sufficiently tested. The Grigg Committee, finding in the course of its inquiry a considerable body in favour of microphotography as a means of reducing the amount of space required for storing records, have investigated its possibilities very thoroughly, going so far as to send two of their number to seek firsthand information in the United States, where it has been used for that purpose. They have found, however, that, while the capital cost of providing accommodation for microfilm may be low, the cost of reproducing records on microfilm is high, and that it would be made still more expensive by the work necessary to prepare for photographing filed papers of the usual Departmental type; it would be cheaper, they conclude, to provide storage accommodation for the original documents. They therefore advise that, while a look-out should be maintained for technical developments which might in the future

make the use of microphotography for archival purposes worth while, it does not as yet provide a solution of the problem of reducing the bulk of present-day records. It is to be noted that the judgment of the Grigg Committee is confirmed by the American Task Force on Paperwork Management, who too have recommended in their *Report* that micro-filming is, because of its comparative costliness, not the answer to the problem of record storage.

The conclusion reached on the possibilities of microphotography rubs in the moral that there is no short cut in surmounting the difficulties presented by modern Departmental records. The problem is formidable; it calls for strong, and may be revolutionary, measures, and during the past few years most large states have independently set about seeking a solution. In England it has been searchingly studied for two years by a Committee of people, all expert, and some very eminent, in one or more of the activities to which the efficient keeping of archives is important. The resulting plan, now accepted by the Government practically without reservation, can therefore be claimed to have been formed under the conditions most favourable to the production of balanced and considered conclusions. It provides for the first time an organisation specifically designed to review the records of the whole central Government; hitherto the work has been a "side-line" for both Departments and Record Office. It allots to Departments and Archives the parts they are respectively best qualified to play, the former being entrusted with the main work of selection, and the latter being given the duty of supervising in the interests of research, with appropriate powers and opportunity to exercise it. It prescribes an expeditious and economical procedure on which a regular routine of review and transfer of documents can be based. The plan, when it is put in operation, may well be found to need some modifying or strengthening. One question that those who are to run it may ask themselves is how far can the prescribed procedure be stretched to meet the special needs of individual Departments? Some Departments will undoubtedly claim extensive relaxations. Another question, which is not dealt with by the Grigg Committee but certainly ought to be asked, is how far will the new system need to have the backing of specific legal provisions? It has been made as flexible and informal as possible. At the same time, to rub out of the Statute Book the principle that the national archives shall be a party to all arrangements for preserving papers would be a step backwards. But, whether a simple enunciation of the principle is enough, or whether some regular elimination procedure ought not to be given statutory force, will no doubt be considered. The period of transition,

between the proposed immediate introduction of the new machinery and the enactment of new legislation, should give the experience necessary for deciding these questions. For the success of the plan there is one indispensable condition—that the staff operating it, on behalf of both the Record Office and the Departments, shall be not only capable but also, particularly on the Record Office side, properly qualified. Given this, there is a good prospect that the spectre of the modern Departmental record will haunt the archivist no more.

J. H. COLLINGRIDGE

ORISSA STATE ARCHIVES

Brief History

THE Orissa State Archives was temporarily created by the Government of Orissa in the year 1946 with a whole-time Curator in charge. The order of the State Government creating the Institution says, "All valuable records available in the District, Sub-Divisional offices as well as in the Office of the Revenue Commissioner, Cuttack, not required for current administrative purposes, and such records as are in other provinces and libraries relating to Orissa and its people should be collected, properly indexed, preserved and made available for research." The above order clearly indicates the object of the State Government in setting up the Orissa State Archives. In the year 1950 the State Government established a Research Section for organising research in History. The State Archives and the State Museum were amalgamated with it. At present the State Archives functions as a branch of the Research Section. It is now located in a temporary building in the new capital—Bhubanesvara. The State Government have under their consideration the question of provision of a suitable building for the Archives and amalgamating it with the Secretariat Record-room.

Records

The records preserved in the State Archives are of five categories: (i) Loose records in Oriental languages, (ii) Volumes of old English correspondence relating to the pre-mutiny and post-mutiny periods, (iii) Old Newspapers and Gazetteers, (iv) Maps, and (v) Records acquired through the Permanent Regional Survey Committee. The records of the first four categories are shifted to the Archives from Government offices.

There are 579 records of the first category of which 21 relate to the Mughal Government and 28 to the Maratha Government. Most of these records are *sanads* granting lands to deities, religious institutions or individuals. Among the Mughal records there are two *sanads* granted by Aurangzeb. They are the earliest records preserved in the Archives. Among the records relating to the Marathas there are two very important ones containing the revenue figures of Orissa of the last year of Maratha occupation, viz., 1802-3 A.D. There are also *sanads*, *parwanas*, *hukum-namas* etc. Most of the records of the Mughal and the Maratha periods are in Persian, some with endorsements in Oriya or Modi scripts. There are a number of *sanads* granted to the deity Jagannath or other religious

institutions by local Chiefs and Zamindars, rich people, the Rajas of Khurda etc. They are mostly half in Persian and half in Oriya.

The old English correspondence is in bound volumes and their total number is 496. They belong to the period 1805-70. They comprise correspondence of various departments like Revenue, Political, Judicial, Territorial, Salt, etc. These records contain very useful materials for the history of Orissa under the British rule.

There are 61 volumes of an old Oriya weekly newspaper, *Utkala Dipika*, for the years 1869-1933 with some gaps here and there. They constitute a very authentic source of historical information for the period. Recently, 61 old *Fort St. George Gazetteers* for the years 1832-70 have been received from the office of the Collector of Ganjam.

Twenty old maps were received last year from the Cuttack Collectorate. Some of them contain important topographical and marine information.

Preservation

Flattening, tissuing and binding are the main items of the repair work done. Besides, fumigation of records by paradichlorobenzene, and use of insecticides constitute other measures of preservation of records against the attacks of destructive pests and insects. Photo-prints and photostat copies of some important records have been prepared.

Research and Publication

The Curator carries on researches among the records in his custody. Publication *in extenso* of some important records (to be known as Orissa Records Series) on the lines recommended by the Indian Historical Records Commission has been undertaken. The first volume is expected to be out next year. Use of old records for research purposes by *bona fide* research scholars is very limited.

Orissa State Archives is, at present, in its infancy. It will take a long time to develop into a full-fledged one with adequate staff and equipment. The State Government are considering the question of re-organising it with a view to developing it into a useful institution. When all the non-current records in the Government offices are collected and centralised under a unified control directly under the Government, the institution will prove more helpful for research as well as administrative purposes.

Permanent Regional Survey Committee

Closely associated with the State Archives is the permanent Regional Survey Committee of Orissa. The Committee has been set up by the State Government mainly for the survey of records in private custody, their acquisition, preservation, study and publication. Though the Committee has been functioning for the last three years, it has not yet passed its organisational stage. There are District Committees under the Central Committee for helping in survey work. Last year, 18 documents, 7 palm-leaf manuscripts and one set of copper-plates were acquired and some other documents in private custody were located. The results are encouraging and promise much better success in near future. The important acquisitions are being studied and the result will be published in the shape of a pamphlet.

SUSHIL CHANDRA DE

. STOKES' SCHOOL, MUSSOORIE

MUSSOORIE is not an ancient city : Mullingar, the first European house to be built there, is at the Landour end, and was completed in 1826 by Captain Frederick Young, then Superintendent of the Dun. At his suggestion a start was made at the end of 1827 to build a convalescent station for British troops at Landour, which was occupied in 1829.

Beyond the western end of Mussoorie the Park House was built in 1829-30 by Colonel William Whish, commanding the artillery at Sirhind. This house and "The Park" surrounding it was bought in 1832 by Captain George Everest, the great Surveyor General, who occupied it for several months every year from 1833 till his retirement in 1843.

In 1834 John Mackinnon, a retired army schoolmaster, started Mussoorie's first school, "The Masuri Seminary", for English boys on a site half a mile east of the entrance to "The Park", that is shown on an early map.* Mackinnon was born at Elgin in Scotland in 1806, and died in Mussoorie in 1870. Having married a daughter of Mr Bohle, an adventurous merchant who started the first brewery in Mussoorie in 1830, he later bought his father-in-law's property and brewery. In 1842 a Miss Mackinnon, probably a sister, occupied a house named Caineville, later a school for English girls.

Mackinnon and his school are mentioned more than once in Survey records, and in 1847 the Surveyor General records that he had "promised to prepare some candidates for our Department". This preparation may have been of a private nature, for the school appears to have passed out of Mackinnon's direction soon after 1842. From 1842 to 1850 he was editing the first Mussoorie newspaper, *The Hills*.

As the brewery prospered, Mackinnon's interest in the school gradually waned, and it does not appear to have flourished under a Mr Ramsay, for after 1842 the Rev. E. Maddock, chaplain of Mussoorie, recognizing the pressing demand for a good English school, invited his brother, the Rev. R. N. Maddock, to come out from England and open a new school, which was established on the ridge, just west of the existing Library. The school soon became well known as "Maddock's School". In 1865, probably owing to the declining health of Maddock, it was purchased by the Church of England Diocesan Board of Education at Calcutta. Pending the engagement of a new headmaster from England, the Rev. A. O. Hardy was placed in temporary charge.

The above information has been drawn from *Historical and Statistical Memoir of Dehra Dun* by R. C. Williams, 1874, *A Mussoorie Miscellany*

* Map of Bhadraj (MRIO), now with the National Archives of India.

by "The Rambler", 1936, and from original records of the Survey of India.

The subsequent history of the school is recorded in an original manuscript volume, *Register & Journal of Mussoorie School, 1867 to 1899*, that was given to me by a former pupil of Stokes' School. The greater part of this volume is in the handwriting of Stokes, or of the master that was temporarily performing his duties. This volume contains several loose sheets of printed notices and school reports, and photographs of school buildings.

The Rev. R. N. Maddock died at Mussoorie on 7 March 1867, at the age of 53, and the Rev. Arthur Stokes, from England, took over as Headmaster on 13th August. He resigned on 26th November 1898, and was succeeded by W. C. Horst, a former pupil, who held charge till the school was closed down at the end of 1899. The school estate was then sold, and the Savoy Hotel erected on the site.

The Headmaster's Journal opens with minutes for 1867, and is full of interest. He writes freely of the school's activities and of his own difficulties, and explains the causes that led to the closing of the school.

The Register gives full names and dates of birth and school career of 904 pupils, with initials and occupations of their fathers. These pupils were European or Anglo-Indian boys, born in Europe or India, and many of them had distinguished careers in British or Indian services — Provincial Civil Service, Police, Public Works, Army, Medical, and Education. No copies have been found of the school magazine, *The Maddock*, published at Mussoorie between 1894 and 1899.

The assistant masters were brought out from England and their number varied from five to seven.

The earliest printed notice announces that "The school will reopen on the 1st of March 1867. Headmaster, The Rev. A. O. Hardy, M.A., of Trinity College, Oxford, sometime Tutor of Wellington College, and Domestic Chaplain to the late Bishop of Calcutta, assisted by a competent staff of masters".

A printed letter dated 12th July 1869, obviously prepared for signature by Hardy, reads, "I am about to make over charge of Mussoorie School to the Rev. Arthur Stokes, B.A.".

A printed prospectus, undated, is signed "Arthur Stokes, Headmaster", and reads "Mussoorie School, affiliated to Calcutta University (late Rev. R. N. Maddock, M.A.). Governors, Calcutta Diocesan Board of Education.

"Headmaster, The Rev. A. Stokes, M.A., late Scholar & Lecturer of Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

"2nd Master, Rev. T. A. Rambart, B.A.

"Assistant Masters. Rev. L. F. Phillips, M.A., late Scholar of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge—H. T. Allen, Esq.—F. C. Schurr—W. C. Horst, B.A.—Drawing Master, Mr G. Hunter—School Sergeant, Thomas Pratt.

"Terms. Board and Instruction in Classics, Mathematics, etc., Rs. 500 per school year, March 1st to November 30th. Day Boarders, Rs. 300—Day Scholars, Rs. 200—Brothers [Boarders], each, Rs. 400.

"Extras. French, Rs. 10—Drawing, Rs. 10—Instrumental music, Rs. 10 per mensem during school year.

"Rs. 50 to be paid with each boarder and Rs. 35 with each day-boarder, on entrance, and in the first month of each subsequent year in lieu of all charges for medical attendance, books, stationery, mending, hair-cutting, etc."

Another printed notice dated November 1874 calls for subscriptions towards the building of a school chapel.

The following are extracts taken from the school Minutes.

1867

"Mr Maddock died of smallpox at St Helens, Mussoorie. . . . days after the school opened on March 1st.

"Three boys tried for Roorkee [Thomason Engineering College], and two passed . . . One passed for the Revenue Survey.

"The Rev. R. Burrell, of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, S. P. G. Missionary at Cawnpore, and W. Church, Esq., of Christ Church, Oxford, examined the first three classes in Mathematics and Classics respectively.

"W. Haycock, Esq. left, and was succeeded by W. Sconce, Esq., B.A., of Exeter College, Oxford."

Head boy of the school was W. Willcocks, minor, who took the "1st General and 1st Mathematical prizes". This was William Willcocks, one of five brothers at the school, who after passing through the Thomason College at Roorkee had a distinguished career as an Irrigation Engineer in Sudan.

"Total 89 boys".

1868

"The Headmaster was unable to return from ill-health till the end of March, Mr. Rambart being in charge . . . Dease major passed for Roorkee—Willcocks major for the University." This was Alexander Willcocks who joined the Indian Medical Service, and died at Dehra Dun 1929, aged 78.

"The Lieut. Governor (Sir William Muir), and Lady Muir, visited the school, and a whole holiday was given in honour of his visit.

"W. H. Cole Esq., B.A., Trigonometrical Survey, and late Mathematical Master in Mussoorie School, set the algebra, arithmetic, and Euclid papers . . . at the Christmas examination.

"Rev. T. H. Frere, M.A., Assistant Master at Wellington College, Berkshire, presented a box of books to the Library."

1869

"The school was affiliated to the University [Calcutta].

"April 7th. The Viceroy [Lord Mayo] visited the school. Holiday on Thursday afternoon and Saturday morning, when we beat the Manor House boys at football.

"August 13th. Rev. A. Stokes, B.A. arrived to take Mr Hardy's place, who left, August 19th. to act as Chaplain to the Bishop of Calcutta."

1870

"The dormitory of the new building first used, March 7th.

"2nd September, Mr F. C. Schurr arrived from England *via* Bombay as Assistant Master to teach Latin."

1873

"Mr Lockington, who had worked as assistant and drawing master for six years, resigned . . . owing to continued bad health, and left for England in April. He subsequently obtained an appointment as Headmaster of the National School at Staines near Windsor. Mr A. J. Wilson of the Topographical Survey took charge of the drawing class.

"The new buildings begun in 1872 were so far advanced as to be habitable both by boys and masters after the rainy season. The old bungalow situated on the playground was pulled down in November and the playground much enlarged thereby.

"Greek was commenced in form II.

"W. C. Horst passed 7th in the Calcutta B.A. examination and was appointed, March 1874, to the vacant assistant mastership."

1874

"Headmaster starts scheme for building chapel . . . Plans drawn out in England . . . Foundations started November 1874, and contract given out to Mr Geo. McLauchlin, Architect, Mussoorie."

1875

"In April four boys ran away, . . . fired with a desire to be sailors. They got through the Mohun Pass, and then went to Roorkee where the

mother of one of them lived. The Cantonment Magistrate then forwarded them back under warrant of arrest by the Superintendent of the Dun, who tried them for taking property of others . . . Discharged with a caution.”.

Names of new boys. “By April 7th there were 92 boys on the school books ; 2 away from illness, and one not yet come up. This total is the largest since the school was taken in hand by the Calcutta Diocessan Board of Education. At one time during the year there were 94.

“Building of chapel progressed, nearly all parents subscribing. By the end of the year about Rs. 11,000 had been provided or promised. . . . In August the study of Greek was dropped.”

1876

“Squad of 36 boys in Volunteer Corps. . . . Three boys passed into Roorkee. . . .

“Chapel had just been roofed when the arch gave way. The builder, Geo. McLauchlin, absconded. The building was then completed by H. G. Scott.”

1877

“Board at Calcutta approved appointment of a sixth master from England. 2nd September, Mr A. G. Wolfe arrived as Junior Assistant Master. Educated in England ; had 6 months as student in Poona Engineering College, matriculated at Bombay University, and nearly a year as Assistant Master at Nainital Diocessan School.”

“15th November, Rev. A. Stokes, Headmaster, took furlough to England, handing over to Mr Rambart.

“Passed into Roorkee, J. Willcocks, 1st ; Floyd, 2nd ; Ives, 19th.” This was John Willcocks whose record appears further in the Register : “passed 1st into Roorkee 1877 ; passed out 1st, 1879, carrying off all prizes but one. Second only to his brother William for total marks. Posted D.P.W., Pindi-Kohat Railway.” He was later Agent, Burma Railways, 1908-13.

1879

“Calcutta Diocessan Board of Education report to Lord Lytton [Viceroy] that Mussoorie School need not be legislated for at present, as being fairly well filled, and financially the only hill school in a sound condition. Number of boys 90.”

1884

"School opened with 115 boys: 98 boarders, 17 day-boarders; maximum in July 134

"Mr. Allen returned from furlough 1st March. An additional master was secured in India, Mr Webb, a young man with a public school education just out from home.

"New rules for entrance to Roorkee unfavourable to schools in India.

"Two boys ran away to escape an investigation into their conduct, and did not return. They were caught, and went home to their friends. This escapade rid the school of the real source of great mischief."

1885

"School opened with 115 boys; reached maximum of 121 in August. Drop in numbers attributed to the general depression of trade in India, and to the imminent prospect of war with Russia, which caused many to send their families to England. The daily telegrams during the critical negotiations with Russia were much appreciated by the boys.

"Volunteer Corps. 61 boys.

"Cricket. Boys won 5 matches out of 7 played. J. Rehill was extremely useful with bat and ball, and achieved the distinction of hitting up the first score of more than 100 in the history of the school in the last match, 108."

1887

"School won 10 out of 11 cricket matches.

"Successes of former pupils. W. Willcocks obtained Telford Gold Medal of Institute of Civil Engineering for papers on Irrigation in Egypt—Capt. James Willcocks, on transport in Burma—G. F. W. Braide passed 5th for I.M.S.—Gordon W. Watling & J. W. Wikeley passed out of Sandhurst for commission—F. W. Mann, medical at Edinburgh—R. E. Blewitt, appointed to Punjab Police—J. Corbett . . . to N.W.P. Police—W. G. Haslet to Punjab Railway Police—C. W. Allen, R. M. Delmerick, to Forest Department—K. Calderwood, E. L. Haslett, F. W. Harris, E. B. Powell, to Forest School, Dehra—F. H. Watling, matriculation, Edinburgh. Similar list every year."

1889

"Monthly average only 96 as compared with 101 in 1888. Few of the new boys were young, and many were over the usual maximum limit of 14. Increase of schools both at Mussoorie and elsewhere, with lower fees."

1890

"At end of 1889 an unusually large withdrawal; many left for England, and several boys who were old and unpromising were withdrawn.

"Finances necessitated economies in messing and other arrangements. No sports."

1891

"Monthly average much reduced. Withdrawals numerous. One refused re-admission, and two withdrawn during year at Headmaster's request. Average 68 including day-boarders. . . . Difficulty in collecting fees.

"Parents were unusually troublesome in . . . sending boys regularly, the mothers also not informing the fathers [at work in the plains] of their sons' conduct.

"Reduction of fees for younger boys, and failures to pay fees in many cases resulted in loss on year's working. . . . Since 1884 the numbers have steadily decreased, and cheap passages to England induce parents to send their sons home early."

1892

"The masters took no extra fees. Mr Rainbart drew only Rs. 300 a month.

"The fall of the Rupee pointed to the desirability of attracting the better class of parents, and preparing for examinations in England on a larger scale."

1893

"Largest entry in records of the school, 49, including 3 boys previously at the school. 106 boys in July.

"From England, Mr C. E. Freeman, B.A., of Caius College, Cambridge, and Mr F. M. Smith, B.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge, both of whom had taught in schools in England.

"Smoking allowed to boys over 17 with permission of parents. This was forced upon the Headmaster by the increase of the habit, which parents did not attempt to check.

"Two boys, Cooper and Bradley, ran away, but were caught at Rajpore by the Police, brought back, and caned. Not long after Cooper induced Dease to run away and, after stealing the Armoury key, purloining two rifles, and abstracting ammunition from Capt. Smith's rooms, got away, reached the Dun by Cloud End, and in four days in the rain without

money, made their way east of Dehra, and were then arrested by the Police, and brought back. Cooper was placed under a police guard until his father sent for him, and he was withdrawn.

"Finance. Having to pay the two new masters in sterling, while the Rupee averages under 1s/3d. made it impossible to work at a profit [reserves apparently exhausted and debt incurred]. Rs. 5000 borrowed at 5% to save some of the Bank charges for overdrafts, and the cost of getting out the two masters was Rs. 1,300.

"Some new obituary notices were placed in the chapel.

"The winter of 1892-3 was unusually severe. Even on March 15th there were blocks of snow 8 feet high, necessitating paths being cut about the compound. There was little or no summer, very few consecutive fine days, and the year's rainfall was 160 inches.

"The appointment of a Bishop and Archdeacon of Lucknow resulted in the transferring of the school to the control of the Lucknow Diocesan Board of Education."

1894

"Entry 40 : maximum in May 87 boarders plus 26 day-boys, total 113.

"It is difficult to manage young fellows who come for special work at advanced ages, and who have been away from school for some time.

"The Rupee hovered about 1s/1d ; in spite of this by the end of the year the debt was cleared off, and some Rs. 1300 were paid to the loan account. The heavy bill for books in England was at last met. Had the Rupee been of the same value as in 1886, there would have been a profit of Rs. 6000 or more.

"Since 1867 the cost of living and servants, etc., has risen 15% at least, whilst the Rupee has dwindled 40%, and no advance has been made in the fees.

"A school magazine was started by E. O. King and A. R. J. Baker, who came from school in England.

"Finance. The depreciation of the Rupee would render welcome a sound preparatory school in the Hills. *The Pioneer* has lately inserted several letters advocating this.

"Roorkee is not now what it was : its passed men being relegated to Provincial Works, and the cost increased by lengthening the course, while the Police appointments are now awarded by competition in England. The Forest School only admits to Provincial grades.

"There is little left for European boys in India which cannot be met from lower grade schools."

Discusses generally the prospects of the school as at present organized, and the changes necessary to improve its prospects.

"With the withdrawal of the better appointments to England, and the relegation of Indian-educated men to Provincial Departments, there are few openings for boys. The low Rupee makes it impossible for parents to send boys to England after training here.

"It has become evident that the confined position of the school in the very heart of the Station is not a suitable one. Shops and places of amusements cause distraction and difficulty. Larger playgrounds, room for walks, better buildings, etc. are needed. . . . An attempt to secure The Park was made, but the owners Messrs Mackinnon declined to sell.

"The Maharajah of Kapurtala was allowed, in spite of protests by the Bishop and neighbouring residents, . . . to buy St Helens. . . . It is hoped that ere long a suitable site may be found, and the Maharajah induced to purchase the school estate.

"The approach to the school from the Library was altered this year, a strip of land west of the Library being given to the Library Committee on condition that the Library be free to the Headmaster and family, and to one member of the staff.

"Boys of over 18 become impatient of restraint. . . . Such openings as remain in India generally fall to those of 21 years of age. . . . The absence of prospects does away with the stimulus which formerly existed. . . . The demand for higher education must under the existing state of things decrease."

1896

"Numbers shewed a considerable decrease ; average boarders 59—dayboys 9—due to the establishment of the Modern School close by, which attracted many by its easier discipline, later hours of beginning work.

"Another cause was the establishment of the Junior School [or Preparatory]. The work began from 1st May under Mr W. C. Horst. Nineteen years ago Mr Horst was Assistant Master here. The year's work at the Abbey gives a fair promise of success. The Abbey was rented for two years at Rs. 900 a year, and a loan of Rs. 5000 obtained at 4% from the Endowment Fund.

"Finance. Rs. 15,000 had to be borrowed to pay off the large overdraft from the Endowment Fund. Heavy loss on the year's working.

"Messrs Smith and Freeman, aided by Mr Murphy from the Allahabad High School, started 'The Modern School'. They drew away many from the Mussoorie School. At end of 1896 Mr Freeman had broken away from the new venture.

"At the close of the year Mr H. R. James, B.A., left for England, paying forfeit for one year of contract unexpired.

"The title of Headmaster was assigned to Mr Horst of the Junior School, Mr Stokes becoming 'Warden'.

"A railway to Rajpur is now sanctioned, and the value of property in Mussoorie is rising.

"The Warden published a pamphlet on the present prospects of Anglo-Indian boys of fair standing. Favourably noticed by *The Pioneer* and elsewhere. . . . Want of practical sympathy on the part of Government makes the outlook very unhopeful.

"The Warden in the winter of 1895-6 compiled a resume of the history of the School in manuscript, which it is hoped will year by year be written up.* The Warden here records his conviction that it is unsound to try and conduct such a school on fees which were in vogue fifty years ago. There is no margin for profit, and no possibility of a reserve, unless the number of boarders can be maintained at 100.

"Miss Pope appointed to Caineville. The two schools were brought into co-operation in regard to reduction of fees for brothers and sisters."

1897

"Senior School kept strictly for boys; no young men being taken, as it had been found impossible to carry on a school and a cramming shop under the same roof.

"14 left at end of 1896; entries 1897, 19. 6 left for England. Two of those leaving during 1897 due to idiosyncrasies of . . . parents. None of those leaving in 1896 went to 'Modern School'.

"A Diocesan Committee, with the Warden, discussed prospects of school, and recommended reduction of staff salaries. Mr Blaker to leave. Salaries to be—Rambart, Rs. 250—Ogden, Rs. 300—Walker, Rs. 200—Kelly, Rs. 150—Mr A. B. Stokes, Rs. 170; the Warden protesting.

"Mr H. R. James left for England, repaying one third of his original passage money for the one year of his covenant left unserved. In his place, Mr A. B. Stokes, B.A., of Queen's College, Cambridge, was appointed on a 3 year covenant, a son of the Warden, and an ex-pupil.

"At present there is no demand for anything more than the Government High Standard, which a boy of 15 would in earlier days have been equal to.

"In this year the railway to Rajpur was aligned, and begun at Hardwar. This will raise the value of the school estate, and one or two enquiries were made in 1897.

*Not found.

"The Junior School under Mr Horst prospered. . . . The lease of the Abbey having expired, . . . the owner undertook to make some alterations and additions, and grant a lease of 3 years at Rs. 1,000 a year. It was also resolved to rent Lochbetter . . . for Rs. 500.

"The necessity of sending boys to England when young seems to be growing.

"The year was marked by a great Frontier uprising. Several old Mussoorie boys took part in the operations. Major James Willcocks, D.S.O., Leinster Regt., A. A. G. Tochi Valley—Lt. James Wikeley, 17th Bengal Cavalry, Tirah—Lt. N. Fraser, Tirah—Surgeon Lt. F. Mell—Surg. Lt. Watling—Lt. C. B. Stokes, The Buffs, Swat & Mohmand valleys—Lt. Watling—Lt. J. Wheeler—Lt. Hodgkinson (Postal).

"The quantity and quality of the work are certainly falling off. The absence of adequate reward in occupation tells more and more. Of the boys who come to us from other schools, few have any grounding or knowledge of how to work ; the few from the Junior School are exceptions."

1898

"It is becoming more difficult to secure the boys arranging games for themselves. . . . There is little interest taken by visitors to the Station in cricket.

"The School Magazine, *The Maddock*, improved in quality and quantity, successfully edited by Messrs Kelly and A. B. Stokes.

"The new estate to west of the Happy Valley was finally purchased (loan from the Endowment Fund), and the land taken over.

"Warden Rev. Arthur Stokes offered terms on his request to retire. No leave for past ten years. He needed rest. The private boarder scheme gave no promise to recoup reduction in salary. The Board could not guarantee a pension. The Board offered him free passage home for himself, wife, and daughter, and Rs. 300 p.m. for a year.

"In September Mr Walker resigned after 12 years' continuous service. Mr Ogden was told his services would not be renewed at end of present engagement, Rs. 300 being too expensive.

"Progress was made during the year with the Hardwar-Dehra railway, which should be open in 1899.

"The decoration of W. Willcocks, Cairo, with the C.M.G. was the occasion of a holiday.

"The retiring Warden records here his . . . thankfulness. . . . Thirty years' work amongst the European boys in India."

This closes the record in Mr Stokes' handwriting.

"On November 26th 1898 the Rev. A Stokes & Mr. Stokes left Mussoorie *en route* for England, and the School remained in charge of Rev. T. A. Rambart for the winter months. Impossible to engage new Warden from England, and about middle February 1899 Mr. Rambart was asked to officiate as Warden for another year.

"Meanwhile an unusually large number of boys had left for England, many also from Junior School, who in the ordinary course would have joined the Senior School.

"19/20th April, a special committee—Bishop—, Archdeacon D.—, the Honorary Secretary—met Mr Rambart and Mr Horst, and decided to locate the Junior School in the Senior School buildings, and to appoint Mr Horst Principal of both, and to retain Mr Rambart as Chaplain and Senior Assistant Master. Removal from Abbey was effected in the earlier half of May, and Mr Rambart made over charge to Mr Horst. Mr Ogden accepted a post at the Aitcheson Chiefs College at Lahore, but remained at Mussoorie till end of May."

1899

"Numbers. Senior school, Boarders 28 ; Day boys, 10
Junior school, " 41 " 2

"The School closed on November 24th.

"In August another committee recommended, and the Diocesan Board decided, to close the senior department, and carry on preparatory school at the Abbey, and to sell the school estate.

"The closing of the senior school has led to the retirement of Rev. T. A. Rambart, who joined in 1867."

The Register shows that the boys came from many walks of life, some being sons of Government servants—civil or military—covenanted or uncovenanted—doctors—engineers—schoolmasters—policemen—clergymen—others being business men, bankers, hotel-keepers, and so forth. Though the great majority were British, there were a few Germans, French, Italians, Dutch, and Armenians. In some cases they were sons of officers in British regiments and left for England with their parents after a brief tour of service in India.

A large number of boys left school for England where they passed into Sandhurst or into other services, and never returned to India. The greater proportion, however, found successful careers in India, and I have been astonished at the number of my friends who have proudly recalled their years at Stokes' School in Mussoorie.

SKETCH OF THE BATTLE OF DIG, 13 NOVEMBER 1804

THE Historical Map Records of the Survey of India, which have been transferred to the National Archives of India, are a new mine of information on the modern period of Indian History. In addition to the purely scientific value of these records, they contain innumerable details on geographical, political, economic and social questions which are sure to enrich our knowledge of the modern period. Even the subject matter of the following article—a sketch of the Battle of Dig—is by itself a topic of interest and utility.

Facing page 114 is the photo-copy of a nicely coloured sketch¹ of the battle of Dig, fought on 13 November 1804, an interesting item in the Historical Map Records of the Survey of India, in the custody of the National Archives.

Though the events leading to this battle which brought undying fame to Major General Fraser, who led the British army to victory on that fateful field and the capture of the fortress of Dig on 24 December 1804, by Lord Lake, are well-known facts in the Anglo-Maratha conflicts of Lord Wellesley, yet this pictorial presentation of the battle cannot be properly appreciated unless its background and the incidents connected with the battle are recapitulated from the brilliant narratives of the war available among the co-related records and authentic printed publications. An endeavour has been made here to emphasise the value of such investigation and to show how information from one source is supplemented by materials from other sources to make such a study not only interesting but more informative. Without entering into minute details,² it will be, perhaps, sufficient to state that Daulat Rao Sindhia and the Bhonsla Raja of Berar were defeated³ in the decisive battles of Assaye⁴⁽ⁱ⁾ and Laswari.⁴⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ Jaswant Rao Holkar, who had out of jealousy stood aloof so long, realised the danger and his mistake and entered the arena, almost single-handed in his trial of strength with the British. Lord Wellesley, the architect of the policy of subsidiary alliances

¹ *Survey of India Historical Map Records*, folio 83, sheet 43.

² *Notes relative to the late Transactions in the Marhatta Empire, Fort William, 1803-04*; also (i) *Selection from Despatches etc. of the Marquess Wellesley*, ed. by S. J. Owen, Oxford, 1877; (ii) *Selection from the Despatches etc. relating to India of the Duke of Wellington*, ed. by S. J. Owen, Oxford, 1880; (iii) *Memoir of the Life and Military Services of Viscount Lake*, by Hugh Pearse, Edinburgh, 1908.

³ Owen: *Wellesley Despatches*, especially see pp. 411-23.

⁴ (i) *Decisive Battles of India*, G. B. Malleson, London, 1914, Chapters IX & X.

⁴ (ii) *Memoir of the War in India*, William Thorn, London, 1818, Chapters VI & IX, pp. 210-33; 266-87.

with the Indian princes, was also not slow to accept this challenge and was ready with his plan to crush⁵ Jaswant Rao by the combined military efforts from the North and the South under veteran commanders like Lord Lake and Arthur Wellesley respectively.

Col. Monson, after his disastrous retreat from the Mokundurra Pass, reached Agra on August 31, 1804, and British prestige sank for a while although Lord Lake tried to retrieve it at once. He marched from Kanpur on September 3 and reached Agra. Lake desired to march against Holkar without delay and was able to leave Agra on October 1. During Lake's march from Kanpur to Agra, Jaswant Rao pushed into the British territory and overran a portion of the Doab, pillaging and plundering. Holkar approached Mathura on September 15, Col. Browne, the Commandant, retreating to Agra. The town of Mathura fell into the hands of Holkar, and great alarm filled the minds of the inhabitants of the Doab. To make matters worse, perhaps more out of fear than of devotion, Ranjit Singh, the Jat Raja of Bharatpur, who became an ally of the British at the time of Laswari, changed sides and became a friend of Jaswant Rao. Lake marched from Sikandra on October 1, and arrived, almost unopposed, at Mathura three days later. To create a diversion, Holkar despatched his infantry and artillery under Harnath Singh to attempt the capture of Delhi and the unfortunate Emperor Shah Alam. But this had to be abandoned on October 15, because of the brilliant defence put up by the Resident, David Ochterlony, with the help of Lieut. Col. Burn. Holkar was clever enough to avoid direct action with Lake as long as he could. Lake reoccupied Mathura on October 3, and reached Delhi on October 18, to see that the Maratha besieging force had gone away in a northerly direction. Lake wished to pursue Holkar at once, but due to shortage of sufficient supplies, a halt at Delhi was found necessary. Burn was despatched to his former post at Saharanpur to keep watch on the southern Sikh princes. Holkar suddenly took the offensive, crossed the Jumna near Panipat on October 20, and overtook Burn on his march near Shamli, a town almost 64 miles north-east of Delhi. On November 3, General Lake relieved Shamli, arriving from Delhi after a forced march. As the inhabitants of Shamli joined hands with the Marathas against Col. Burn's detachment, Lake gave up the town to plunder as an example to others. It will be remembered that when Burn's detachment left Delhi, Lake was engaged in collecting supplies and transport to bring Holkar to action. It was known that

⁵ Copy of instructions from the G.G. to the C.-in-C. of 17 January 1804, relative to Jaswant Rao Holkar in *Notes relative to the late Transactions in the Marhatta Empire, 1803-04*, Pt. III App. B.; see also Owen: *Wellesley Despatches*, pp. 449-70.

the Maratha infantry and guns had retired towards Dig, while Holkar with the bulk of his cavalry was moving in the direction of Shamli. Lake thereupon set out with a small force on October 31 in pursuit of Jaswant Rao, while he despatched the remainder of his army, under Major General Fraser, to deal with the infantry and artillery before Dig.

In the words of Lord Lake "the action of the 13th of November stands superior to any achievement of the British arms in India and will rank amongst our most illustrious victories in any quarter of the Globe."⁶

The events connected with the lofty surrounding hills, unfordable *jhils*,⁷ semi-fortified villages, the ramparts of the fortress etc., portrayed in the sketch have been vividly described among others⁸ by Lieut. Pester⁹ who actually participated in the action on 13 November, and there are also plans¹⁰ of the battle to follow the battle array. The part played by Major General Fraser in attacking the fortress, may best be described in the words of Capt. J. Menzies in his letter¹¹ dated 13 November 1804 from Camp Dig to Lt. Col. Gerard, Adjutant General, thus—

"I am directed by Major General Fraser to acquaint you for the information of His Excellency the Commander in Chief that the Army under his command arrived within three coss of the Fort of Deig yesterday, and found the Enemy very strongly encamped with their Left extending to Deig, and a large *Jeel* of water extending towards their Right and covering the whole of their Front [;] from the late hour at which the Army encamped and not having correct information of the Enemy's position, the General thought it adviseable to delay the attack until this morning. Having made his arrangements for the security of his Camp, by leaving Colonel Ball of the 3d. Brigade of Infantry, he marched with the 1st. Brigade of Infantry under the Hon'ble Colonel Monson, the 2nd. under Lieutt. Colonel G. S. Brown, the two Regiments of Native Cavalry under Lieutt. Colonel J. Brown, and of the Park under Lt. Colonel Horsford, at 3 o'clock this morning, we made a circuit to our Left round the *Jeel* of water, to enable us to come on their right flank, a little after day break we formed in two Lines, attacked and carried a large village

⁶ For. Deptt., Sec. Cons., 7 March 1805, No. 53.

⁷ Shallow lakes or morasses—Wilson's *Glossary*, ed. 1940, p. 372.

⁸ (i) *History of the Bengal European Regiment*, P. R. Innes, London, 1885, pp. 288-97.

⁹ (ii) *History of the British Army*, J. W. Fortescue, London, 1921, Vol. V, pp. 100-109.

¹⁰ *War and Sport in India, 1802-1806—An Officer's Diary*, ed. by J. A. Devenish, London, Chapter XXIII.

¹¹ (i) Thorn, *op. cit.*, facing p. 408; also the *Seat of War in Hindooostan* in the years 1803-6, facing the title page.

¹² (ii) Innes, *op. cit.*, facing p. 289.

¹³ (iii) Fortescue, *Maps and Plans*, Plates 7 and 8.

¹⁴ For. Deptt. Sec. Cons., 7 March 1805, No. 51.

which was on their right flank. The Major General immediately pursued his success, marched down on their Line, and took possession of their Guns and Howitzers, which are now bringing into Camp. I regret to say that General Fraser has been severely wounded when at the Head of the Troops leading them into action, and in consequence was obliged to be carried off the field. The Hon'ble Lt. Colonel Monson then assumed the command and atchieved what the General had so happily commenced. We drove the whole of the Enemy under the Fort of Deig, where the people in the Fort opened a very heavy fire on us. The number of Guns taken is not yet ascertained nor that of the killed and wounded, but our loss I am sorry to add has been severe. Regular Returns of the number of Guns, killed and wounded will be sent by the Hon'ble Lt. Colonel Monson tomorrow, who will likewise give a detailed account of the action. Major General Fraser feels it impossible to express his high sense of obligation to the whole of the Troops under his command, for their undaunted courage and gallantry, particularly His Majesty's 76th Regiment, who have gained new honor to themselves and their country. We have taken up a strong position to the South-West of Deig."

The progress of the battle, whose command fell on Col. Monson after General Fraser was wounded, can be perused in Monson's letter¹¹ of 14 November 1804, addressed to Lord Lake, from the camp before Dig.

From Monson's report, it will be seen that the Maratha army "consisted of twenty-four Battalions, a considerable Body of Horse and one hundred and sixty pieces of Cannon" and their loss "has been very great, and it is supposed near 2,000 have been killed or drowned in their efforts to escape . . . and the remains of the Enemy's army which took shelter in Deig are in the greatest consternation and are deserting in great numbers."¹² That the loss on the British side was also severe can be seen from the General Return¹³ of the killed, wounded and missing of the troops supplied by Capt. Menzies. Among the arms and ammunition left by the Marathas were "eleven 6 Pdrs. (pounders) and

¹¹ For. Dept., Sec. Cons., 7 March 1805, No. 54.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ For. Dept., Sec. Cons., 7 March 1805, No. 55.

"Grand total of Europeans killed	...	...	64
wounded	...	...	195
missing	...	...	12
" " of Natives killed	...	...	84
wounded	...	...	274
missing	...	...	15

The whole of the missing are supposed to be killed, and several of the wounded since dead."

two 12 Pdr's. formerly lost by the Detachment under my command"¹⁴ as reported by Monson.

How deeply Fraser's loss was mourned and how feelingly his bravery was appreciated, can be felt from Lord Lake's letter¹⁵ dated 26 November 1804, addressed to Lord Wellesley from the Headquarters Camp, Mindoo*, quoted below. The pathos in the note of Menzies is touching.

"The inclosed note has just conveyed to me the afflicting intelligence of the death of the gallant Major General Fraser in consequence of the severe wound he received in the ever memorable action of the 13th instant.

Your Lordship will partake in my feelings of sincere sorrow for the loss of an esteemed friend and a brave officer, and his country will mourn the death of a Hero to whom she is indebted for the most signal services.

His plan of attacking the Enemy in the glorious Battle of Deig evince the highest military genius—his mode of carrying this into effect displays the greatest judgement and sagacity and his conduct at the head of his army proves the most deliberate courage and determined resolution.

Advancing in front of his troops, his example animated them to the arduous enterprise, he continued to encourage them long after he had fallen and his voice impelled them till a complete and glorious victory, crowned and rewarded his exertions.

In lamenting the loss of this brave officer, I have the consoling reflection, that his memory will remain dear in the breast of every soldier, that his splendid example will animate to future deeds of heroism, and that his fame and Glory will be consecrated and preserved by a grateful and admiring country.

The remains of Major General Fraser, were interred at Muttrah on the evening of the 25th and the last sad honors due to his rank were paid by part of that Army which he so lately led to victory and to Glory."

Enclosure

Muttra

Novr. 24th 1804

7 o'clock P.M.

Sir,

With the most sincere sorrow I feel myself obliged to communicate the melancholy intelligence of my much lamented friend, the General's death. He has been for several days sinking from not being able to

¹⁴ For. Deptt., Sec. Cons., 7 March 1805, No. 54.

¹⁵ For. Deptt., Sec. Cons., 7 March 1805, Nos. 67-8.

* Mendo—a small town, less than two miles west of Hathras junction in Aligarh Dist. (Aligarh Dist. Gazetteer, p. 278.)

retain nourishment on His stomach, and a mortification took place and terminated fatally this evening; every attention that medical assistance could afford has been shewn him, and the unwearied attention of a most affectionate son who is now unable to write.

I have the honour to remain
Sir,

Your most Obedient Servant
(Signed) W. MENZIES,
Major of Brigade.

To

Lt. Colonel Lake.

* * *

Holkar's bold stand against the British might naturally aroused secret sympathy in many Indian princes, who were conscious of the loss of real power and prestige by allying with the powerful British, but they had not the courage and resources to openly defy it. To counteract these dangerous trends, to keep the morale of the British army high, to instil confidence in the minds of the vacillating allies and to excite awe for the superior military prowess of the British arm, Wellesley, as an able politician, celebrated every victory over Jaswant Rao Holkar in a grand style by ordering Royal Salutes and publicizing the heroic deeds of his soldiers in *Gazettes Extraordinary*.

The victory at the battle of Dig on November 13, and the capture of the fortress by Lord Lake were similarly advertised in all details with glory and splendour.¹⁶

The effects of the battle of Dig on 13 November and the capture of the fortress on the military zeal of Jaswant Rao Holkar can better be guessed than described. He met with reverse after reverse till he fled to Amritsar and ultimately was reduced to the position of a subdued prince after the treaty of Rajghat, 1806.¹⁷

While these narratives from the politicians and soldiers reveal vividly the true picture of the battle and the sentiments which animated them, the information gathered from the labours of the silent surveyors show how they made the task of their compatriots in the battlefields easier, safer and more effective by their sketches of the routes and in the topographical details of the regions, which were the scenes of the exploits of the fighting forces. The value of accurate maps for a marching army cannot be overemphasised. Much useful information on the maps and the surveys of the regions which added undying fame to Lord Lake

¹⁶ *Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary*, November 25, December 6, 1804 and January 5, 6 and 8, 1805.

¹⁷ *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, G. S. Sardesai, Bombay, 1948, pp. 422-36.

and the valiant Commanders under him is available in Col. Phillimore's monumental work on the Historical Records of the Survey of India.¹⁸

The speed with which Lord Lake hotly pursued Jaswant Rao Holkar can be better appreciated when the sketches of the military routes¹⁹ are closely studied. They undoubtedly show why a particular route was selected and why others were avoided for the success of the campaign thereby showing how firmly the British superiority was established in warfare in an unmistakable manner.

Surveyor General Colebrooke's letters²⁰ to the various Surveyors like White, Smyth, Robertson etc. attached to the different commands of the Grand Army throw interesting light on the quality of the surveys done during the period.

A glance at the sketch catches the magnificent fortress, described²¹ by Fortescue thus: "Before this eminence (Shah Bourj) stood what was practically a distinct fortress, consisting of a square enclosure with four commanding circular bastions at the four cardinal points and a smaller bastion midway between the northern and western of them, while the northern bastion and north side of the western were further covered by external entrenchments of the pointed form used by European engineers".

The cannons in battle array, the pitched tents, the Maratha horsemen with their standards flying, and the British cavalry with scarlet coats, cocked hats, blue lapels, white breeches, boots reaching to the knees, with swords drawn and the Union Jack fluttering in the air, bring the battle vividly before our eyes. One can see some of the horses running hither and thither while their riders are either dead, dying or fleeing.

Much interesting information on the dress and arms of the British army of this period can also be gleaned from the valuable works of Luard²² and Ffoulkes.²³ How the Maratha soldiers fought their battles, wherein lay their strength, and their weaknesses are brilliantly illustrated by the eminent historian Prof. Jadunath Sarkar in his article on the Maratha System of War.²⁴

This pictorial sketch is very probably the work of Henry William

¹⁸ *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, Vol. II, R. H. Phillimore, Dehra Dun, 1950, Chapter V.

¹⁹ *Survey of India Historical Maps*, folio 29, sheets 22-25 and folio 30, sheets 2, 7-10 & 17-30. See also surveyor Genl. Office, Vol. 78, (Field Book).

²⁰ Surveyor Genl. Office, Vol. 67.

²¹ Fortescue, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, P. 106; see also Thorn, *op. cit.*, pp. 413-14.

²² *History of the Dress of the British Soldier*, John Luard, London, 1852, specially pp. 97-106.

²³ *Arms & Armament: An Historical Survey of the Weapons of the British Army*, Charles Ffoulkes, London, 1945.

²⁴ *The Hindustan Standard*, Sunday Magazine Section, April 10, 1955,

Carmichael Smyth of the Bengal Engineers, as mentioned by Col. Phillimore in his short biographical notes.²⁵

Thus it will be seen that these sketches, maps, charts, etc., which are being preserved and renovated in the National Archives of India, and which are silent witnesses to a long line of patient investigation, are of inestimable value in the proper appreciation of the political events of the British period of Indian history.

U. N. SARKAR

²⁵ Phillimore, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 442.

HENRY RUSSELL'S REPORT ON HYDERABAD

(30 MARCH 1816)

[PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF LORD MOIRA]

The condition and resources of the Nizam's Government

IN despotic Countries the personal character of the Prince must always form a prominent feature in the character of the Government. The present Nizam was born about the 19th of October 1771, and succeeded his Father in the Government in 1803. His original name is Akber Ally. During his Father's life time, he was usually called Secunder Jah, sometimes Tolaud Jung, and on his accession to the Musnud the same Titles which his Father held were conferred upon him by the King of Dehly.

The Nizam is of a tall, bulky, athletick form. The expression of his countenance is dull, melancholy and careworn, but mild and good natured. His Colour is dark for a Mahomedan of Birth, and he looks much older than he is. For several years he indulged in both women and wine, to great excess, but he now lives temperately. His disposition is naturally humane and benevolent. He has sometimes been guilty of violence to his servants but it has been in sudden anger, and he has always appeared to lament it afterwards. His Government has never been marked by any public acts of violence or oppression. He has been supposed in some degree insane, and certainly has countenanced the suspicion, but his extravagance proceeded perhaps partly from the consequences of excess, and partly from a habit which he has of affecting ignorance and absurdity whenever a Subject is presented to him which he wishes to evade. His natural understanding is good; at least it has always appeared so, whenever he has chosen to exert it. But his Talents are slow, and his Education was totally neglected. Until he succeeded to the Musnud, at the age of 32, all respectable and Intelligent society had been denied to him, and having no firmness of Character, he is subject both to the delusion of his own fears and jealousies, and to the pernicious Influence of the low senseless creatures that are about him. He is very impracticable in argument and tenacious of his own opinion. A notion that he has once taken up he hardly ever abandons. His fears may deter him from acting upon it, but he never surrenders it to reason. In his manner he is perfectly plain and unaffected, of few words, and sparing of Compliments or Profession. He is cautious in Business, and scrupulous in pledging himself to anything. He has no Scholastick acquirements. He can neither speak nor

write Persian well, but he is fond of having it read to him, especially works on History or Medicine. The leading feature of his character is avarice. Next to that may be classed his dissatisfaction at his alliance with the British Government, but even that he seems desirous rather of changing than dissolving. He knows his authority could not stand alone, but he has indulged in a visionary Scheme for retaining the Benefit of our protection, without the weight of our controul. It is from his uneasiness under that controul, and from his anger at not being allowed to act exclusively for himself that he has retired from publick Business. This habit was confirmed by his strong personal dislike of his two former Ministers, Azim ool omrah, and Meer Allum. He never forgot the severe restraint in which he was kept by Azim ool omrah, during the life time of the late Nizam, and Meer Allum irritated and estranged him by his haughtiness, pride, and overweening ambition. Meer Allum secretly incited him to measures adverse to the spirit of his Engagements, and then adduced those very measures as arguments with us for the necessity of his own Powers being enlarged. Of his present Ministers, the Nizam likes Chundoo Loll personally, but is jealous of his connection with us. Mooneer ool Mookh he dislikes personally, but encourages as the Rival of Chundoo Loll. He listens to any Body who flatters him with the prospect of independance and he always throws difficulties in the way of Measures which are proposed or supported by us. But his timidity and weakness are so great that it would almost be impossible to betray him into violent resistance, and even if he were to adopt such a course himself, his total want of splendour, frankness, spirit, resolution, liberality, and all the popular qualities of a Prince, would prevent his commanding the cordial services of any large Body of his subjects. There does not appear to be any Individual about him, either male or female, who can be said to be decidedly a favourite, or to enjoy any lasting or particular share of his confidence.

The Nizam leads a life of almost total seclusion. He hardly ever appears in publick, and seldom sees even his Ministers. What little intercourse he has with them is sometimes by Notes, but generally by Messages conveyed through the female Servants. His time is passed either in his private appartments where he sits quite alone, or with a few personal attendants of profligate character and low habits, who flatter his prejudices, fill him with delusions of visionary Independance, and poison his mind with stories of the treachery of his Ministers ; and the ambitious desings of the British Government. He has no domestick intercourse even with his nearest male Relations. Neither his Brothers nor those of his sons, who live separately from him ever visit him, except on the great

festivals, and even then they are admitted to him in publick, and he generally receives their Nuzzurs and dismisses them without speaking to them.

The Title of Nizam ool Mook, "The Regulator of the Country" was given to the Grand father of the present Nizam on the appointment to the Soubadary of the Deckan, and that Title has been continued in the Person of his Descendants who have held the Government. In the same way the Title of the founder of the Kingdom of Ahmednuggur in about 1490 happening to be Nizam ool Mook his Descendants took the Title, and the Dynasty was called "Nizam Shahee". The Nizam is a Designation which was introduced at Hyderabad by Europeans and is used by them alone Persons in India would either call him by one of his Titles or speak of him [as] either the "Nabob" or "Bundugani aalee", "the Slaves of the Most High" (Slaves in the plural number out of respect). Several of the principal Nobles at Hyderabad are by courtesy called "Nabob Saheb", but the Nizam alone is called plain Nabob. His proper official designation is Soubadar of the Deckan. Another Title of Nizam ool Mook which has been continued in his family is "Asoph Jah" of the Rank of Asoph, who is supposed to have been one of Solomon's Ministers. Both the late and the present Nizam had this Title, and the Government of Hyderabad is frequently called the Asophie State. All the present Nizam's Brothers hold the Title "Jah", with some name joined to it; and so peculiar is the Distinction held to be, that the late Nizam's favourite Minister Azim ool Omrah Aristo Jah, is the only person out of the family on whom it has been conferred at Hyderabad.

In point of form the Nizam still admits that he administered his Government as the Delegate of the Emperor. Coins are struck in the Emperor's Name, which is also used in the "Kootba" the form of Publick Prayer for the Sovereign. In the Seal with which the Nizam authenticates all publick Acts he calls himself "Servant of the Emperor", and although he confers Titles on his subjects, he receives his own Titles from the Emperor. The Term "Soubadar" implies the Governor of a Province under the Authority of a Superior Sovereign.

The Nizam is of the Soonnee Sect. Among his Nobles there are about an equal number of Sheeas and Soonees. The Kings of Golcondah of the Kootub Shahee Dynasty which was overthrown by Aurungzebe were Sheeas, but none of the families of that time have survived to the Present. The families which came from Dehly with Nizam ool Mook, and which are now the oldest at Hyderabad are of the Soonee Sect. But many of them have fallen into decay, and the influx of Persian families during the administration of Azim ool Omrah and

Meer Allum several of whom have arisen to consequence has given both number and importance to the Sheeas. One of the objections which the Nizam urged against appointing Shums ool Omrah to succeed Meer Allum was that he was a Soonee, and that it had been usual for the Soonee Prince at Hyderabad to have a Sheea Minister. A considerable degree of Jealousy subsists between the two Sects, and they seldom intermarry.

The Government though Mahometan has no jealousy of employing Hindoos among its Officers. At present the efficient Minister is a Hindoo. Rajah Purtaub Wunt was the late Nizam's Prime Minister before Rokim ood Dowlah. The principal man of Business under the Mahometan Minister has always been a Hindoo. The whole of the Finance is in the hands of Hindoos ; and the Farmers and Managers of the Revenue as many are Hindoos as Mahometans. The proportion which the Jagheers held by Hindoos bears to those held by Mahometans is as 1 to 7. The proportion which the Troops commanded by Hindoos bears to those commanded by Mahometans is as 1 to 3.

Among the persons of Rank at Hyderabad there are few if any men of Talents or experience. Those of them who reflect at all appear to be sensible that the Nizam's Government could not support itself without our Alliance. They all profess Attachment to us, and most of them court our favour and support. They certainly dread and respect us, but we have no hold upon them except through Interest or their fears. They are actuated against us both by religious bigotry, and by political jealousy ; they hate us because we are Christians, and because we are powerful. This disposition is perhaps common to them with most of the Natives of Rank throughout India. Our virtues would avail little with them if our power were too fail. Much of our Moderation they do not believe, and much of it they do not understand. They mistake for weakness what we practice as forbearance, and they cannot comprehend how a State can abstain from making a valuable acquisition merely because it would be dishonest in it to do so. Our Moderation to be safe and efficacious ought to be regulated by our own notions instead of being adapted to their apprehension. We may be as moderate as we please in Counsel but in action we should shew nothing but vigour.

At Hyderabad however there is not much friendship in closeness of connexion between the Natives of Rank. Besides the great distinction between Mahometans and Hindoos, and that between the Sheeas and Soonees, the habits of life which necessarily spring from concealment of their Women are of themselves fatal to everything like social or confidential Intercourse. They never meet together, but upon occasions of

Ceremony or business, and every Man possess his hours of relaxation and retirement in the secluded privacy of his female apartments. They are mutually Jealous and suspicious and many of them perhaps hate one another still more than they hate us. Among the lower orders, the Hindoos, who are the Cultivators of the Soil throughout the Country, are generally favorable to us, and would be glad to be transferred to the British Government, but the lower orders of the Mahometans the Bulk of the Population of the Capital are hostile to us to a Man.

The following is the gradation of Titles granted to Mahometans at Hyderabad, beginning with the lowest:

1. "Khan" as Soobhan Khan.
2. "Bahadur" as Mahummud Salabut Khan Bahadur.
3. "Jung" as Syfe Jung.
4. "Dowlah" as Ushuffood Dowlah.
5. "Moolk" as Mooner ool Mook.
6. "Omrah" as Shums ool Omrah and
7. "Jah" as Aristoo Jah.

The Titles granted to Hindoos are:

1. "Rae" as Rae Kookhund.
2. "Rajah" as Rajah Chundoo Lool and
3. "Wunt" as Rajah Neem Wunt.

There is also a large body of "Munsubdars" or titular Commanders both Mahometans and Hindoos. In the flourishing times of the Mahometan power, the higher Titles were conferred on a few only of the principal Nobility, and under a Government where all distinctions were Military, every other person derived his importance from the Number of Troops he Commanded. Originally these Commands were real, and constituted the gradation of Military Rank. They are now invariably nominal and may be considered to form a sort of Legion of honour. There are two distinct Classes of Munsubdars at Hyderabad, those whose ancestors were appointed by the King of Dehly while the Deckan was subject to his Authority and they are called Royal Munsubdars; and those appointed by the Nizam and his Predecessors who are simply called Munsubdars. Rajah Rao Rumbha is a Royal Munsubdar of 7000 and Iftikhar ool Mook is one of 6000. The Rajah of Morapoor and the Zemundar of Palooncha on the Godavery were both made Royal Munsubdars by Aurungzebe whose policy it was, while he was Employed against the Marhattas to conciliate by distinction the persons holding strong position in the Countries he had already reduced. There are not above five or six Royal Munsubdars remaining in the Nizam's Country. Those of the other Class are very numerous. The Nizam himself was

appointed by his Father a Munsudar of 17,000; Shums ool Mook of 5000. The lowest Munsudars there are at Hyderabad are of 400.

Next to the Nizam's immediate Relations, Mooneer ool Mook from his office has precedence before all the other Nobles at Hyderabad, and Shums ool Omrah takes Rank next as Commander of the Paegah or Household Troops. When the Nizam was consulting about the Selection of a Successor to Meer Allum, Rajah Chundoo Loll enumerated the following Persons to him as the principal Nobles of the State, Mooneer ool Mook, Shums ool Omrah, Umjud ool Mook, Shah Yar ool Mook, Amun ool Mook, Iftikhar ool Mook, and Byhram ool Mook. Of these Umjud ool Mook is dead, and the others may be considered to have relative precedence in the forgoing order. Rajah Chundoo Loll probably ranks next after Shums ool Omrah. On the same occasion Chundoo Loll mentioned Ragotim Rao, Momtauz ool Omrah, Saam Raje, and Mustakeem ool Dowlah as persons necessarily excluded from among the objects of Selection. When the Nizam is on his Elephant it is considered to be the privilege of the Minister, and the Commander of the Paegah Troops to sit behind him, the Minister taking the right hand. When he is on his Musnud the Minister stands or sits in front, or on one side of him as he may desire. Shums ool Omrah and Shah Yar ool Mook generally sit behind him, Shums ool Omrah holding a Bunch of Peacock's Feathers to beat away the Flies. The Aruzbegee always stands in front.

The Nizam's annual Revenues taken on an average of Seven Years from 1807 to 1814 after deducting the Charges of Collection and the Choute of the Marhattas as now paid amounted to Rupees 2,92,86,985. The Expenditure during the same period amounted on an average to Rupees 2,96,04,756 a Year. The Defalcation which the publick accounts exhibited in 1814 was Rupees 22,24,396. But if all Charges entered under the Expenditure were actually paid, and all Sums borrowed were deducted from the Receipts the real Defalcation would probably be more than Double the stated Amount. On the other hand however this Expenditure includes a Sum of about Fifteen Lacks of Rupees of which Eight Lacks were paid by the Minister into the Nizam's Private Treasury, and Seven Lacks were the probable amount of the Nuzzurs received and retained by the Nizam.

The Jagheers which are included in the foregoing Statement are rated in the public Books at Rupees 1,19,13,263 of which 35,19,109 are personal and 83,94,154 are for the Maintenance of Troops. But the actual produce of both descriptions of Jagheers does not probably exceed 85,00,000.

Until the appointment of Mooneer ool Mook in 1809 who received a fixed Salary of Six Lacks of Rupees a Year the Minister was paid by a Commission on the Revenues called.....?.....or three annas on the Rupee ; that is for every Rupee that was levied for the Government as additional three Annas was levied for the Minister. But the Commission was levied only when the Demands of the Government had been previously satisfied, so that in many places where the publick Revenues fell short nothing was levied for the Minister. This Commission during the time Meer Allum was in power produced on an average Rupees 17,18,344 a Year. Calculating on the rate of Collections actually made, and on the probable produce of the Jagheers, it ought if fully realized to have given an annual produce of Rupees 52,34,753.

Rajah Chundoo Loll as Paishkar [پیشکار] or nominally député Minister is still paid by a Commission. It produced on an average while Meer Allum was in Office Rupees 2,86,390 a Year. If it had been completely realized it ou[gh]t to have given during the Seven Years from 1807 to 1814 an annual average of Rupees 8,72,458.

The whole of the Nizam's Revenues with few and trifling exceptions are farmed, a sure proof of the Weakness of the Government and the misery of the people. They are levied by the farmer sometimes in kind, but most frequently in Money Rent. When they are levied in Kind the Government [Share] if the Grain be dry is generally one half. In Rice the Position varies. When the land is watered from Tanks the Government Share is three fifths. When the Water is drawn from Wells it is eleven twentieths, and when the Water is brought from a distance by any tedious process it is only nine twentieths. The Money Rent is levied under two Denominations "Suebusta" and "Beegawanee". Suebusta is where a fixed Sum is paid by the Zemindar without any reference to the Produce. Beegawanee is where the Amount levied on each Beega of ground is regulated by the quality of the Soil, or the Nature of the Season, and is larger or smaller as the produce is greater or less. The Collection of this description fluctuates from 5 Rupees to 50 Rupees a Beega. But high as these Rates [are] generally the great Mischief of the System is that they are never adhered to. If the Season is a bad one the Farmer seizes the Cattle of the Inhabitants to make up their Defalcation, and if it is a good One he leaves them only a scanty portion and seizes the remainder for himself. All losses are borne by the Cultivator and all Profits are engrossed by the Farmer who has by prescription a tacit engagement with the Government that no complaints against him shall be received. The farmer may be said rather to levy contributions than to collect the Revenues of the Country. The total want of Faith in all

Engagements on the side of the Stronger party is indeed a main source of the Misery which prevails throughout the Nizam's Country.

One principal consequence of the oppression of the Government and the Farmer is, that the Inhabitants frequently either leave the Country or refuse to cultivate their land, and that the Zamindars abscond, or if they are strong enough break into open resistance. The Districts of Elgundel, Ramgier, and Kummammet on the right Bank of the Godavery between Numul and Rajahmundry are generally in rebellion. Kona Rao the Zemindar of Elgundel may be said to be always in hostility against the Nizam, and he has great advantages in the strength of his Country and the Number and bravery of his Followers. A large Detachment from the Subsidiary Force was employed against Elgundel in 1801 and Meer Rao the elder brother of Kona Rao was taken and executed.

The Nizam's Territories were increased, and his Boundary made more Distinct by the Treaties of Peace with Scindia and the Rajah of Berar in 1803. But several Districts still remain to them within the limits of his Frontier. Those held by Scindia are estimated at Rupees 23,209 a year, those held by Holkar at 5,20,258, and those by the Rajah of Berar 7,37,745. Besides which the Rajah of Berar's Portion of the Revenues of the Districts East of the Warda which are equally shared between him and the Nizam is estimated at Rupees 1,14,297.

The Nizam's private Treasures are considerable. In Jewels he is probably the richest Individual in the World. Almost all the finest Jewels in India have been gradually collected at Hyderabad, and have fallen into the Nizam's Possession. In money he has not perhaps above a Crore and a half of Rupees, a Million and half Sterling of which, upwards of a Crore, has been accumulated by himself. The Bulk of his Treasure is in Golconda, but a part is at the Palace in the City. The Nizam is considered as the universal Heir of all his Subjects. Whenever a Person of any Note dies his Property is secured by the Officers of the Government, and it is only in case of Special indulgence that the Nizam forgoes his claim in favour of the family. In this respect however the present Nizam is more liberal than his father was. The Tenure of all Jagheers are generally conferred on the Son when the Father dies.

In extent the Nizam's Territories from North to South are about 380 Miles, measuring from the Hills above Ellichpoor to the Toombuddra below Rachore, and about 320 from East to West, measuring from the Boundary near Purainda to Budrachellum on the Godavery. The Soil in general is extremely rich and fertile, and except where the Tanks have been allowed to fall into decay the Country is well watered. In favourable situations three Crops of Rice are produced within the Year from the

same Ground. Juwaree.....?....., Bajree.....?....., Wheat, Barley, and Chenna are the principal produce of the Country. Rice is grown in particular parts only, and not in sufficient quantities for the consumption of the Inhabitants. The poorer Classes subsist chiefly on Juwaree and Bajree, the higher Classes eat Rice and Wheat.

The Population of Hyderabad is supposed to be about 250,000 of which perhaps 150,000 may be within the Walls and 100,000 in the Suburbs. Of the population within the Walls the Hindoos are perhaps about 40,000, the remainder being Mahometans: in the Suburbs about 60,000 may be Hindoos and 40,000 Mahometans. There are no means of computing the whole of the Nizam's Population with any certain approach to accuracy. In estimating the Population which the Capital bears to the rest of the Country, if the comparatively small number of Inhabitants in a City which has no Trade or Manufacture be allowed to counterbalance the reduction made by bad Government in the Number of the Inhabitants of the Country the Population of Hyderabad may be about a Tenth of the whole Population of the Nizam's Territories, which will give a total of two Millions and a half. At the Capital the Mahometans have been computed at 150,000 and the Hindoos at 100,000. In the Country the Mahometans are not perhaps above a Tenth of the Population. This therefore will give exclusive of the Capital 2,025,000 Hindoos and 225,000 Mahometans or altogether 2,125,000 Hindoos and 375,000 Mahometans.

There is but little commerce in the Nizam's Territories and of what there is the Balance is very much against them. From the Company's Country they import Copper, broad Cloath, Velvet, Silks, Muslins, Chints, Calicoes, Ornamented Cloths, Sugar, Drugs, Spices, Sandal Wood, and Salt. From Cashmere they import Shawls, from Malwa Opium, from . . . ? Camels and Blankets and a good deal of Salt is also imported from the Paishwa's Districts in the Kokun [Konkan]. They also export Wheat, Steel, Cotton and a considerable quantity of excellent Teak Timber which grows on the Banks of the Godaverry below Numul, and is conveyed down the River to Coringa. The principal Marts in the Nizam's Country are Omrauty and Omnabad near Bider. The usual Interest of Money at Hyderabad is from 2 to 3 Per Cent Per Month. The lowest rate at which the Minister negotiated Loans for the Government even when the Amount is secured by Assignments on the Revenue of the Country is 18 Per Cent per Annum. He generally pays 24 Per Cent.

The Nizam's Country did produce in considerable numbers the finest Horses in the Deckan. The Breed still exists, but the produce is very much diminished. Before the Year 1800 an Officer was stationed

at Hyderabad to purchase Horses for the Madras Cavalry, and they were procured in considerable Numbers. An Officer of the Commissariat is now employed to purchase them for the same purpose. The number purchased by him during the year 1815 was 354. The Horses are produced chiefly in the Western Districts bordering on the Beema. An annual Fair is held for the Sale of them at Malogong in the Nandir District.

The original Provisions for the administration of justice are fair and rational under the Nizam's as they are under most other Governments. At Hyderabad the Soubah is the Chief Civil Magistrate and the Cutwal the Chief Criminal Magistrate. Their duty is to receive and investigate all Complaints. They refer the result of their Inquiries to the Chief Cauzy of the city who pronounces the Law, and his Decrees again are applied and executed by the Magistrates respectively. In all Criminal Cases the Mahometan Law prevails. In Civil Cases the Mahometan Law is administered to Mahometans only: in disputes between Hindoos the matter is referred to a Punchayet of Hindoos to decide according to their Law or practice, and except in Cases of Manifest injustice the Soubah is bound to adopt their award. When the Nizam takes the Field he is attended by a separate Cauzy and Cutwaul who are called the Cauzy and Cutwaul of the Army. The Nizam himself or his Minister acts as Civil Magistrate in the Camp. In the Country the administration of both Civil and Criminal Justice is in the hands of the Aumil or Manager of the District whether he be a Farmer on his own Account or a Collector appointed by the Government. There is however a Cauzy in each District to whom the Aumil ought to refer in Cases relating to Mahometans. In those relating to Hindoos he ought to refer to a Punchayet. But as the Office of Cauzy in the Country is mostly hereditary it seldom happens that the person who holds it is qualified to exercise the duties and he is scarcely ever employed but to perform Marriages or to authenticate Documents with his Seal. All these Provisions however have fallen into total disuse. Both at the Capital and in the Country disputes are settled by force or favour, and even the forms of justice, are openly neglected and defied. Until the Resident interferred in 1814 to procure the infliction of Capital Punishment in Cases of Murder not a single reference had been made to the Chief Cauzy of the City in a Criminal Matter for 10 Years. The Office of the Soubah has fallen into total disuse, and the Cutwaul acts only as the head of an inefficient and oppressive Police. Perhaps the only Case in which anything like justice prevails is where a dispute takes place between two Hindoo Merchants of equal Rank, and is referred by mutual consent to the Decision of a

Punchayet. · The persons composing a Punchayet are generally ignorant beyond their own immediate habits, but their Awards are for the most part fair in their Intention. No redress is ever to be had by an inferior against a Superior unless he purchases the assistance of a Person still more powerful than his Antagonist.

The Nizam's Military Force exclusive of the Troops which he subsidises from the British Government now amounts according to the Publick Returns to 71,741 Men of whom 29,004 are Cavalry and 42,737 Infantry. But probably not more than two-thirds of this Number are actually kept up.

The Nizam's Cavalry consists entirely of Mahometans except that some of the Parties are commanded by Hindoos and is composed of Moguls, Hindoostanees, Patans, and Deckanies. Some of them are Bargheers, men mounted on Horses belonging either to their Commander or the Government, but the greater number of them are Silladars, men mounted on Horses of their own. The Silladars are considered the better Troops of the two.

The Infantry is composed indiscriminately of Hindoos and Mahometans. Some of the former are from Hindoostan, but the greater Number of both persuasions are Inhabitants of the Deckan.

Of the Cavalry many of the Men are good ; the Moguls and Hindoo-stanees perhaps the best : they are brave and active. The Patans are also brave but treacherous. The Deckanies are generally obedient and faithful, but they want the enterprize of the Northern Mahometans. The Horses however are generally bad, and the Men are so irregularly paid that little dependance could be placed upon them. The Command of each party is held as a Contract from the Government. The Commander receives so much for each Man and Horse, varying in different Parties from 35 to 65 Rupees a Month, but 50 Rupees is the prevalent Allowance ; and he provides the Men and Horses as cheap as he can. Perhaps upon an average each Man and Horse costs the Commander 35 Rupees a Month, so that the clear profit of a hundred Horse may be calculated at about 18,000 Rupees a Year. Some of the Horsemen in most parties are called Imtiazees or Select [امیاز]. They receive from 70 to 500 Rupees a Month, and may be considered to stand in the place of inferior Officers in regular Corps. There are altogether about 2500 men of this description in the Nizam's Army.

If a Provision could be made for their regular Payment the Nizam's Government could assemble Eight or Ten thousand irregular Cavalry of as good a description as any in India, and which under proper commanders might be relied upon to act with our own Troops. The Patans however,

especially of the Ghurmehdee Sect must be entirely excepted. They are not to be trusted by any Government under any Circumstances. Tippo expelled them from his Territories, and Rajah Chundoo Loll in consequence of Violence having been offered to him by one of their Leaders, and the others having taken part with him lately attempted to do the same, but although he had perhaps the Means he wanted the Resolution to accomplish his purpose. The Patans are not united in a distinct Body. They are either in Small Parties by themselves, the largest perhaps not exceeding 200 or they are distributed promiscuously among other Parties. Including the Patan Merchants who are all armed, mounted and accustomed to Military habits, they could assemble of their own Tribe in the Nizam's Country about 1200 Men.

Of the Infantry Captain Hare's Brigade at Hyderabad consisting of about 2000 men is the best, the two Brigades in Berar commanded by Major Elliot and Major Fraser, and consisting of about 1500 each are the next, and these with the addition of Salabut Khan's two Battalions of about 900 each, to the Command of which Captain Lyne has lately been nominated, may be considered as all the good regular Infantry the Nizam has. The remainder are absolutely useless, badly paid, badly armed, badly equipped and not disciplined at all. Captain Hare's men receive 8 Rupees a Month at first and 9 Rupees after four Years Service. In Berar which is a cheaper Country the Men of the regular Brigades receive 7 Rupees a Month at first and 8 Rupees after four Years Service. In the inferior Corps the pay is nominally 6 and sometimes only 5 Rupees a Month. In the immediate Service of the Government and in the Employ of different Talookdars there are about 4000 Rohillas, 2500 Seiks and about 2000 Arabs who usually fight well behind Walls, but are not of much use in field operations against regular Troops. Their pay is from 10 to 13 Rupees a Month. Many of the Tellingee Troops in the Service of the different Zemindars are strong and active and they often fight desperately. They are armed with Spears and Matchlocks and resemble the Polygars in the Southern Parts of the Peninsula. But they will not submit to regular Discipline, and they usually fight only under their own Zemindars in defence of their own District.

The Nizam has no Artillery that is fit for Service except the small Train of Eleven Pieces attached to Captain Hare's Brigade and that of Eight Pieces attached to the regular Corps in Berar.

There is no single Officer who holds the general Command of the Nizam's Army. It is divided into distinct Parties each of which is commanded by its own leader except on particular Occasions when a number of them are collected together and placed under the Orders of an Officer

specially appointed to Command them. The following are the principal Parties : Shiums ool Omrah 4369 Cavalry and 2395 Infantry of which 2200 Cavalry are considered to form the Paegah or Household Establishment ; Rajah Chundoo Loll 2000 Cavalry and 2350 Infantry ; Rajah Govind Buksh 4043 Cavalry ; Salabut Khan 1898 Cavalry and 2000 Infantry ; Ruffet ool Mookl 665 Cavalry and 870 Infantry ; Soobhan Khan 1105 Cavalry and 300 Infantry ; Mohummud Shaker Lohanee 520 Cavalry and 4000 Infantry ; Neaz Behader Khan 800 Cavalry and 350 Infantry ; Shah Yar ool Mookl 594 Cavalry and 176 Infantry ; Noor ool Omrah 733 Cavalry ; Rao Rumbha 618 Cavalry, and Mooneer ool Mookl 541 Cavalry. The rest of the Army is distributed into parties of various strength. A man of the name of Syud Mukhdoom has a party of 4 Horse, and one of the name of Chubeelee Ram is rated as having only two foot soldiers. The consequence and respectability derived from the Command of a Party of Infantry however large is inconsiderable compared with that derived from a Command of Cavalry. A Private Horseman especially if he is a Silladar is treated as a Gentleman. A private foot Soldier is looked up[on] as little better than a menial servant.

The Troops which furnish Guards for the Nizam's person and Palace and which are said to be attached to his Rikaub or Stirrup are composed of the Infantry Corps of Nadey Ally Beg Khan, Ismail Khan Bukshee, Rased Jung, and Buksh oola Khan, and Detachments from several of the principal Parties of Cavalry and Infantry. They consist of about 8000 Men of all Descriptions.

The annual charge at which the whole of the Nizam's Army is maintained is rated at Rupees 2,49,03,273 of which 1,93,78,611 is appropriated to the Cavalry, giving for each Man a Monthly average of about 55 $\frac{3}{4}$ Rupees ; and 55,24,662 to the Infantry giving an average of 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ Rupees for each Man. Taking the whole of both Descriptions of Troops together the Monthly average for each man is near 29 Rupees.

Of this charge 83,94,154 Rupees are paid by Jagheers and the remaining 1,65,09,119 Rupees are considered to be paid in Cash from the publick Treasury. But several of the Parties which are nominally paid in Cash are really paid by Districts of which the Revenues are assigned to the Commanders although they are not formally granted in Jaghere. Noor ool Omrah holds Districts in this way for the Support of his Party which are estimated at Rupees 449,000 a Year and Neaz Bahader Khan also holds in Similar Terms which are rated at Rupees 5,06,720. Captain Hare's Brigade is paid from the Resident's Treasury by an order from the Minister on the Paishcush of Seven Lacks of Rupees a Year which is payable by the Company to the Nizam for the Northern Circars and this

arrangement has the double advantage of ensuring the regular Payment of the Men and fixing them more closely in their attachment to the British Government. The regular Brigades in Berar and Salabut Khan's Battalions are paid with tolerable regularity. The Cavalry also under Rajah Govind Buksh is tolerably well paid ; but the Troops in other Parts of the Country are frequently a year or a year and a half in arrears.

Of the Jagheers which are granted nominally for the Support of Troops some however are almost entirely gratuitous and some again amount to only a small portion of the pay for which they are assigned. Tuhunoor Jung, the youngest Brother of Ushreef ool Dowlah, holds a Jagheer of 36,590 Rupees for the Pay of only 12 Horse, and on the other hand Mohummud Sahib, one of the Patan Commanders, has a Jagheer of only 8903 Rupees towards the support of 542 Horse.

The late Nizam had two Battalions of female Sepoys of 1000 each which mounted Guard in the Interior of the Palace and accompanied the Ladies of his family whenever they moved. They were with the Nizam during his war with the Marhattas in 1795 and were present at the Battle of Kurdiah where at least they did not behave worse than the rest of his Army. One of these Battalions was commanded by Mama Burrun and the other by Mama Chumbelee, two of the principal female attendants of the Nizam's family. The present Nizam still keeps up a reduced Establishment of these Women, and Mooneer ool Mookl also has a small Party of them. They are dressed as our Sepoys formerly used to be and carry Muskets, and they do the French Exercise with tolerable correctness. An Officer of high Rank in the King's Army once said on seeing a Party of them that they would put half of the Native Corps in India to the Blush. They are called Zuffur Pultun, the Victorious Battalions, and the Women composing them are called Gardunees a Corruption from our word Guard. Their Pay is 5 Rupees a Month.

An allowance which amounts perhaps to about Six Lacks of Rupees a Year is made by the Government to the Killedars and Jagheerdars for the maintenance of Garrisons for the different Forts. Of this description of Troops, there ought to be about 10,000 but few are really kept up, and the Establishment may be considered as almost entirely nominal. Where the Forts have any Garrison at all it is composed of Troops borne on the Regular Returns of the Army under the head of Infantry.

The following are considered either on account of their former Importance, or their present supposed Strength as the principal Forts in the Nizam's Country. But they are almost all out of repair and without Garrisons or Equipments. The Natives are generally mistaken in their Estimate of the Strength of Fortifications. They think without consider-

ing any other circumstances that if a place has high Walls and a large Ditch it must be strong.

Golconda is a place of considerable antiquity. Until Hyderabad was built about 1590 it was the Seat of Government under the Kings of the Kootub Shahee Dynasty which began in 1572 and was destroyed by Aurungzebe in 1685 and it has ever since been considered the Barrier of the Capital. It is about 6 Miles West of Hyderabad on the high road leading to Poona. The inner Fort, which is on a Hill about 250 feet high, is now entirely abandoned and appears to have no strength either natural or artificial. The outer Fort is on the Plain. It is about six miles in Circumference and consists of a Single Wall flanked by Bastions. The Rampart of the Wall is very Narrow. There are altogether 84 Bastions on the larger of which there are two or three Guns and on the Smaller only one. The Ditch is seldom deep or wide. It is double on a part of the South Face and Single everywhere else. There is a Glacis. The Fort is by no means Strong and with the European Troops might probably be taken by Escalade.

There are still the remains of two Stone Barriers on the high Road to the Westward within two Miles of the Walls. The Garrison consists nominally of 1200 Men, but those are not probably above 8 or 900, and a Party of 650 Men under the Command of an Officer named Hafiz Yar Jung an adherent of the late Azim ool Omrah is now stationed there for the Custody of the Princes who are confined in the lower Fort. The Killedar is appointed immediately by the Nizam and receives his orders from him alone. The name of the present Killedar is Abdool Raheem Khan. He is the son of a personal Favourite of the late Nizam and has held his office for about Fifteen Years. The Toombs of the Kootub Shahee Kings are within 600 Yards of the Wall and would offer cover for at least 10,000 men. They were occupied by Aurungzebe when he besieged Golconda. The Nizam and several of his principal Ameers have still houses in the lower Fort. The Diamond Mines of Golconda derive their name from being in the Kingdom of Golconda and not from being near the Fort. They are at the Village of Purteal near Condapilly about 150 Miles from Hyderabad on the road to Masulipatan. The property of them was reserved by the late Nizam when he ceded the Northern Circars to the Company. They are superficial excavations not exceeding 10 or 12 feet deep in any part. For some years past the working of them has been discontinued, and there is no Tradition of their having ever produced any valuable Stones.

Dowlutabad is 8 Miles to the Westward of Aurungabad and is a place of great celebrity. It was first taken by the Mahometans in about 1300

and 25 years afterwards Toghluck Shah removed the Seat of the Government there from Dehly. Its original Hindoo Name is Deogiri, and it is conjectured to be the Tayara of Ptolemy. It is a stupendous work, but its strength is an object rather of curiosity than utility. The principal Fort is in a Rock about 500 feet high the edge of which for upwards of a Mile has been scraped away so as to leave a Precipice all round varying in height from 150 to 200 feet with a Ditch at the foot of it. The entrance is from the inner of four Forts that are built one without the other upon the plain and lies over a Narrow Bridge across the Ditch into a Small door from which a Shaft ascends spirally through the Heart of the Rock and issues through an Iron Trap door in the Centre of the Works above. This Shaft is about 300 Yards long about 7 feet high and 10 Wide. The lower Forts consist of Stone Walls flanked by Bastions. They have little strength and even the upper Works which are confused and have not much cover might perhaps be bombarded. Rusheed ool Dowlah, the eldest son of Iatisam ool Moolk, held the Command of the Fort in direct charge from the Nizam although the District it stands in forms a Part of Rajah Govind Bukush's Government ; it being one of the Maxim's of the jealous Policy of India to separate the Charge of the Fortress from that of the Country. The celebrated excavations of Ellora are 6 miles from Dowlatabad and are evidently the work of the same age. The Tomb of Aurungzebe and Nizam ool Moolk are at Roja [Rooza or Khuldabad] on the brow of the Hill immediately above Ellora.

Warangole is about 10 miles to the N.E. of Hyderabad. It was founded in the 11th Century and continued the Capital of Telingana until it was reduced by the Mahometans in the 14th Century. There is still a Fort there, but it is very much out of repair ; the Ditch is in some parts filled up and it appears to be spoken of more on account of its name than of its strength. It is situated in the District held by Noor ool Omrah for the support of his Party, but the Killedar is appointed by the Government. The present Killedar's Name is Abbas Yawur Jung.

Culburga is one of the oldest Towns in the Deckan. The Founder of the Bahmenee Dynasty which reigned over the whole of Mahometan Possessions in the Peninsula from 1347 to 1520 made it his Capital and it continued so through the Reigns of Eight of his Successors until 1434, when the Seat of Government was transferred to Bidar. It is about 120 miles west from Hyderabad and 15 E. from the Bheema. The Town has fallen into decay, but the Fort is strong and extensive, and is still in tolerable repair. There is a lofty Citadel within it called . . . ? . . . abad. Hissam ool Moolk is the Killedar. Culburga is on the line by which an Army moving from Ceded Districts towards Berar would most likely

advance, and is conveniently situated as a Depot for Supplies. The Toomb of Syud Bundee Newauz who lived in the beginning of the 15th Century and seems to be worshipped by both Hindoos and Mahometans as the Tutelar Saint of the Deckan is at Culburga.

Bider is 80 Miles from Hyderabad on the high Road to Jaulna. It is said to have been founded by a Hindoo Prince of the same Name, who lived at the time of Alexander's Invasion. The 10th of the Bahmenee Kings removed the Seat of Government there from Culburga in 1434, and it continued to be the Capital until the termination of the Dynasty, and the Division of their Dominions into the five Kingdoms of Golconda, Beejapur, Ahmednuggur, Bider, and Berar. Bider did not preserve its Independence above 40 Years, its Territories being swallowed up by its more powerful neighbours. It has ever since followed the destiny of Hyderabad. The Remains of the City are still very fine. The Walls are about 4 Miles in Circumference. They are of Stone Massy and well flanked, and in some parts there are three or four distinct Line of Works. The Ditch is deep and Wide and there is a Glacis. If it were in good repair and well garrisoned it would be one of the strongest places in the Nizam's Territory. The present Killeddar is.....?.....Jung a relation of Zeea ool Moolk. The original manufacture of black metal inlaid with Silver was at Bidar from whence it derives its name Bidery.

Ellichpoor is about 320 Miles to the Northward of Hyderabad, and about 140 to the Westward of Nagpore. It is built between two small Rivers the Beechun and Supun which unite below the Town and after joining the Chundabouga fall into the Poorna a little below Derriapoor. The Fort is within the Town and is small and very much out of repair. Salabut Khan who holds the neighbouring Districts in Jagheer resides in the Town which is surrounded by a Single Wall. Ellichpoor was the Capital of the Kingdom of Berar which began in 1489 and ended in 1574 when it was absorbed into the Kingdom of Ahmednuggur.

Purainda [Parenda] is said to be one of the best and most regular Forts the Nizam has. It is on the Western Frontier about 250 miles from Hyderabad and 120 from Poona. It is situated in the Jagheer of Rajah Rao Rumbha, but Wuheed ood Dowlah the second son of Jatisam ool Moolk is the Killeddar on the part of the Government. The Nizam was marching from Purainda with the Intention of throwing his heavy Baggage into the Fort, when he was intercepted by the Marhattas, and the disastrous Battle of Kurdla took place in March 1795.

Dharore is almost 220 miles to the N. W. of Hyderabad, and stands at the Top of a Ghaut of the same name. It is an extensive Fort, but is out of repair. Kurrar Newauz Khan is the Killeddar and has also charge

of the neighbouring Districts. A Salute was fired from the Wall when Sir Thomas Strange passed on his way to Aurungabad, but the Killedar acknowledged he had been obliged to employ all the Carpenters in the place to enable him to fire it.

Jaulna is principally of importance from being the station of the British Troops in Berar. The Fort is small but strong and a Garrison of 200 men with a detail of Artillery might defend it against a Native Power. It has room for a large quantity of Store and has Bomb-Proofs in which Powder might be securely lodged. It was proposed to Rajah Chundoo Loll in 1814 to repair the Works and throw up an additional Breast Work on the outside for storing Grain when the Force should be away. But he objected on the Plea that the Nizam would be alarmed by an apprehension that he was giving the English a footing in the Strong holds of his Country. There is also a good Wall round the neighbouring Pettah of.....?.....which is conveniently situated for protecting the Cantonment and might afford Shelter to the families and publick followers.

The other Forts which are thought of any consequence are Oodgeer about 140 Miles N. W. from Hyderabad on the road to Jaulna. It is held by Jeehangeer Yar Jung who is of a very respectable family. Mulkhair about 25 Miles S. E. from Culburga. Bhowungeer a Hill Fort about 30 Miles N. E. from Hyderabad. The Killedar is Shabuz Jung. Nirmul a Hill Fort about 3 Miles to the North of the Godavery on the Straight road from Hyderabad to Nagpoor. It was formerly held by Zuffur ood Dowlah one of the most powerful of the Nizam's Nobles. His son rebelled and the Fort was besieged and taken by the late Nizam in person in 1782. It is now held by Shakir Khan one of the principal Patan Commanders. Nandair on the road from Hyderabad to Ellichpoor. It stands close upon the left Bank of the Godavery, and is held by Ruffet ool Mook. Dewurconda [Devarconda] a hill Fort about 60 miles to the southward of Hyderabad. The Killedar is married to a Daughter of Nizam's late Brother Feridoon Jah. Ramgeer a Hill Fort about 120 miles N. E. from Hyderabad. Surfurauz ood Dowlah is the Killedar. Elgundel is about 80 Miles to the N. of Hyderabad. The Killedar is a Son of Khanjehan Khan an Officer of the Nizam's Household who died lately. The Districts in its neighbourhood are almost always in rebellion against the Government. Eedgeer a Hill Fort about 110 Miles S.W. from Hyderabad. The Killedar is nearly connected by Marriage with Shah Yacoob Mook. Kummum about 130 Mile E. from Hyderabad. The present Killedar is Hissam ood Dowlah. Kowllass about 30 miles N. from Bider. It has long been in the hands of an old respectable Hindoo

family. Rajah Puddum Sing who lately held it is just dead. Paungul about 100 miles S. from Hyderabad. Lord Cornwallis's Treaty of July 1790 was concluded there. The Killedar was Khanjehan Khan who died very lately. Kopul a very strong Hill Fort about 250 Miles S.W. from Hyderabad. It is held by Abdoola Sahib the eldest son of Mooneer ool Mook. Rachore the principal Town of the Doab between the Kistna and Toombuddra, about 130 Miles to S.W. of Hyderabad. It was stormed and taken by the Subsidiary Force in April 1796 from Ismael Khan and the adherents of the Infant Son of the late Nizam's Nephew Dara Jah in whose name a Rebellion had been excited. It is now held by a Hindoo of the name of Weerunna. Culleeance [Kalyani] about 40 miles to the W. of Bider. It is held by the Nizam's Cousin Momtauz ool Omrah who has resided there in banishment for the last Sixteen Years. It was the seat of an ancient Hindoo Dynasty.

Besides these Places every Town of any Size has its Fort, and many of the Villages are surrounded by a high thick mud Wall, which is generally Square with a Bastion at each Angle. Several of these Holds are strongly built, and if well garrisoned would be capable of a Stout defence. They resemble the Mud Forts in the Southern Districts of the Peninsula which have often been so resolutely defended by the Poligars.

The City of Hyderabad itself which not including the Suburbs is about Six Miles in Circumference is merely surrounded by a single stone wall flanked with small Bastions, and without any Ditch. But it must have fully answered the purpose for which it was originally intended of keeping out the predatory Marhatta Horse.

Of the five Mahometan Kingdoms of the Deckun which were finally destroyed by Aurungzebe the Capitals of three are still in the Nizam's Possession ; Golconda, Bider, and Ellichpore. The other two also Beeja-poor and Ahmednuggur did belong to him. But Beeja-poor was ceded to the Marhattas in 1760 with a Tract of Country yielding 60 lacks of Rupees a Year, and it still remains with the Paishwah. Beeja-poor seems to have been one of the largest and finest Cities in India under the Adil Shahee Dynasty which reigned there ; and the Ruins of it are still very striking. The Cupola, on the Tomb of one of the Kings is only 10 feet less in Diameter than the Cupola of St. Peters. Sir J. Mackintosh who visited Beeja-poor in 1808 called it the Palmyra of the Deckhan. Ahmed-nuggur was surrendered to the Marhattas by the Treachery of the Killedar in 1759. It still belongs to the Paishwah.

The Native Governments of India are always Jealous of entrusting much power to any of their Subjects. The only instance of Authority exercised by any of the Nizam's Officers beyond that of the Jagheerdars

and Farmers and Collectors of the Revenue is in the Government of Berar under Rajah Govind Bukhsh. He has the entire Controul both Civil and Military over all the Nizam's Territories N. of the Godavery with the exception of a Small Tract about Nandier and Nirmul and he acts in almost all Cases without any reference to the Capital. On the breaking out of the Marhatta War in 1803 Mohiput Ram was appointed to Command the Nizam's Contingent with our Army and he was entrusted with a General Authority to apply the Resources of the Country N. of the Godavery to exigencies of the Common Service. When Peace was made he was confirmed in his Authority, and on his removal in 1806 Rajah Govind Bukhsh was appointed to Succeed him. It was proposed on this occasion to separate the Civil from the Military authority, to give the former to Rajah Govind Bukhsh, and the latter to Salabut Khan, but so many solid objections were found to exist against this arrangement that it was wisely abandoned. The Troops in Berar amount nominally to 20,000 but in reality there are not perhaps above 15,000 of which 8000 may be Cavalry and 7000 Infantry, including the two regular Brigades. In natural fertility Berar is perhaps the richest Part of the Nizam's Territory. But it has suffered severely from the Irruptions of the Pindarrees and the Depredations of the Naicks & Beels, two descriptions of Domestic Plunderers by whom several of the Districts are infested. At the Close of the War of 1803 when the whole of what is now called Berar first came into the Nizam's Possession the Revenues were estimated at Eighty Lacks of Rupees. The Nett Collections do not now perhaps amount to much more than half that Sum. The City of Aurangabad where Rajah Govind Bukhsh resides is about 5 Miles in Circuit and is Surrounded by a Stone Wall. The Population does not now perhaps exceed 25,000 but it has increased since [the] Rajah has lived there and it is said to be still increasing.

The only independant Chieftains whose Possessions are generally comprehended within the Nizam's Territories are those of Shorapoor and Gudevaul.

The District of Shorapoor is situated between the Kistna and the Beema immediately above their junction and may be about 45 Miles from East to West, and about 35 from North to South. It originally formed a Part of the Kingdom of Beejapoar and a person named Chup Naick the Ancestor of the present Rajah who was a Collector of the Revenue availed himself of the Confusion occasioned by Aurangzebe's Invasion of the Deckan to establish an independant Authority. He joined Aurungzebe on his first Expedition and was then made a Rajah and a Royal Munsubdar of 5000, and received the Mahometan Titles of . . . ?

. . . ool Moolk . . . ? . . . ood Dowlah Roab Jung. The District of Shorapoor from its local situation was frequently attacked by the Nizam and the Marhattas, and the Rajah purchased a nominal Independence by consenting to pay an Annual Tribute to both the Nizam and the Paishwah. His Tribute to the Nizam when a Detachment from the Subsidiary Force was employed against him in 1802 was admitted on both sides to be 1,45,000 Rupees. The Paishwah claims 85,000 Rs. as the Tribute payable to him. The Nizam and the Paishwah generally Levy a Fine also on the Accession of a new Rajah. The Rajah on his part asserts that he is entitled to levy certain duties called Roosoom amounting to 60,000 Rupees a Year in the Nizam's Districts of Callinga and 70,000 Rupees in the Paishwah's Territories near Beejapoor. But this Claim Seems to be contested both by the Nizam and the Paishwah. The District of Deodroog is rented by the Rajah from the Nizam for 37,500 Rupees a Year, to one-eighth of which it is said the Paishwah is entitled. The present Rajah's Name is Pad ? Naick. He succeeded Inkuppah Naick in 1803. His family and the Families of all his principal dependants are Dhoms? the Helotes of the Peninsula. The Revenues of Shorapoor formerly amounted to Eight Lacks of Rupees, but they do not now exceed Six. In 1802 the Troops which the Rajah had collected to resist the Nizam's Force were estimated at 4000 Cavalry 8000 Infantry of different kinds, and 4000 Beydurs a description of irregular foot who have perpetual assignment on the Revenues but are employed only on occasions when their Services are Specially required. He probably has not now above 2000 Men altogether in Regular Pay. His principal Forts are Shorapoor, Wakkun Khera, Wendroog, and Guikotah and he has several small Ghurries. But none of them are said to be particularly strong, and they are now much out of repair. The Fort of . . . ? was held by the Rajah, but it was given up by him in 1802 and it is now in the Nizam's Possession.

The District of Gudevaul is situated near the eastern extremity of the Doab between the Kistna and Toombuddra just above the junction. It extends about 30 Miles from the North to the South and about 25 Miles from East to West. It was occupied by the Ancestor of the present Rajah under circumstances similar to the occupation of Shorapoor, and its relative situation towards the Nizam and the Paishwah appears also to be the same. The Revenues may be about four Lacks of Rupees a Year. The Tribute which the Nizam claims from Gudevaul is 120,000 Rupees ; the Paishwah claims only 17,500. The Rajah has about 500 Troops in constant Pay and about 1000 Beydurs. His principal Forts are Gudevaul, Dawur, Borepully and Nizamcoonda, which last is on an Island in the

Kistna. Gudevaul, his usual place of Residence is about two Miles South from the River. But none of the Forts are said to be strong in the Condition in which they now are. The present Rajah's Name is Seetaram Bopaul. In 1806 he succeeded his Uncle whose Daughter he afterwards married. He is a Munsubdar of 5000, and he holds a party of 50 Horse and 400 Foot in the Nizam's Army. He is of the Coonbee Caste.

[Here follows a number of appendices:

- (1) Statement of the Receipt and Expenditure of the Nizam's Government from 1807/8 to 1813/14 or Fusly 1217 to 1223.
- (2) Jagheerdars of the Nizam's Government Muhammadans and Hindus. Long list of names.
- (3) Statement of Sindia's Possessions on the Boundary of the Nizam's Dominions.
- (4) Statement of Holkar's Possessions on the Boundary of the Nizam's Dominions.
- (5) Statement of the Rajah of Berar's Possessions on the Boundary of the Nizam's Dominions.
- (6) Statement of the Doamullee ? Districts of the Warda, of which the Revenues are equally shared by the Nizam and the Rajah of Berar.
- (7) Statement of the different Parties of Troops comprising the Nizam's Army.
- (8) General Return of the Russell Brigade Commanded by Captain A. Hare.
- (9) General Return of the Troops composing Nizam's Regular Infantry in Berar.]

The Nizam's Family

[Extremely detailed account. In the main accurate. This accuracy is extraordinary considering the date at which he wrote and the manuscript sources on which he relied. Describes the origin of the Nizam's family and the growth of the State of Hyderabad under Nizam-ul-mulk. For a more accurate account see my Chapter in new *Cambridge Modern History* : "Rivalries in India, 1707-1763".

Accurate account of Nizam Ali who held the Government of the Deccan for 40 years and died in August 1803 at the age of c. 70. Gives his treaties with the English Company.

Secunder Jah, second son of Nizam Ali, was the Nizam when Henry Russell wrote this report. Describes his progeny in great detail. Seem to be unimportant details.]

The Muhammadan Officers and Nobles

. . . Meer Allum Succeeded to the Office of Prime Minister at Hyderabad on the death of Azim ool Omrah in 1804 . . . Mooneer ool Mook is now the nominal Prime Minister of the Nizam . . . [Gives details of his ancestry and family. In 1809 was appointed nominal successor of Meer Allum who had died. But all governmental affairs conducted by Chandu Lal, the Deputy Minister. Henry Russell quotes with approval from an account given by Captain Sydenham in 1809] . . . Mooneer ool Mook has all the little Vices of a Man of weak understanding who has been bred up by Women and spends most of his time amongst them. He is timid, ignorant, bigotted, extremely superstitious, full of little Jealousies and Suspicions, Curious of other People's Concerns, effeminate in his Language and Manners, and abounding in Professions and Compliments. He seems incapable of any Warm and Steady Attachments, listens to every Tale of Calumny and has not candour or Spirit enough to trust any Person. He is fond of Money, and never refuses the smallest or the largest Bribe. He is not quite illiterate. He has gone through some part of the common book learning of the Mussulman's, but he has no other knowledge and has no curiosity for liberal or useful Information. He has not been accustomed to the transaction of affairs of Importance, but he has acquired some facility in the Management of Small Concerns, and in expediting matters of mere detail. He has no experience in the Business of any of the principal Departments of the State, but he is well acquainted with all the Current Business between the Residency and the Durbar. He mixes with ease and address in the Society of Europeans, and has become familiarised to some of their peculiar habits and customs. He is of course acquainted with the most . . . ? Parts of our National Character, and has caught some of our leading Maxims of Policy and Government. His timidity would deter him from engaging in any deep or dangerous intrigues, and there is Nothing of a restless or turbulent ambition in his Character. He would probably be contented to carry on Business as smoothly as possible and would think it prudent to be guided by the advice of the Resident. The most objectionable Parts of his Character as a publick Man are his duplicity and his inveterate propensity to Secret Intrigues which render it difficult to understand on what ground he stands, and dangerous to trust him with Information of Consequence. I observed that Meer Allum never permitted him to be present when any subject of importance was to be discussed by us. It would not be safe therefore to trust entirely to his Principles, but it would not perhaps be difficult to controul him by his fears.

[Henry Russell writes of him] . . . Although Mooneer ool Mook's Niece is married to the Nizam and his Office gives him Precedence before all the other Noblemen of the Government still he possesses no Weight or Influence beyond his immediate family and Servants and his Character must always prevent his acquiring any. For some Years he was the object of the Nizam's most violent hatred. The feeling appeared to originate in his having married Meer Allum's daughter whom the Nizam himself wished to marry. It ran to such a pitch that he was forbidden the durbar, and the Nizam once said that he should like to have him cut in Small Pieces to feed the Crows at the Palace Gate. The reconciliation between them was effected on Meer Allum's death by the females of the Nizam's family who were bribed by Mooneer ool Mook, and the Nizam was probably fixed in his determination to make him Minister by seeing that the British Government espoused the cause of his Rival Shums ool Omrah. Even now the Nizam trusts him only as the Rival of Chundoo Loll. The situation in which he stands relatively to Chundoo Loll, places him in some degree in opposition to the Resident, but he is well affected both from habit and opinion towards the British Government, to whose interests if he were tied he would probably adhere as faithfully as it is in his Nature to adhere to any Cause whatever . . .

[Here follow detailed descriptions of the chief Muslim nobles and also of the chief Hindu officers] . . . Rajah Chundoo Loll the present efficient Minister of the Nizam is the Son of Rae Narrain Dass of the Khitree Mehra Tribe. Rae Moolchund, the Grandfather of Rae Narrain Dass, and in the Service of Emperor Mohammad Shah, came from Dehly to the Deckan with Nizam ool Mook, under whom he afterwards held the office of Kurrorah, or head of the Excise at Hyderabad. Rae Lutcheeram?, the son of Rae Mool Chund held the same office about the year 1770 under the late Nizam's Minister Rokum ood dowlah. On his Death, his eldest Son Rae Naneek Ram Succeeded to his Employment. Rae Narrain Dass the Younger Brother of Rac Naneek Ram, was the father of Rajah Chundoo Loll and Rajah Govind Bukhsh. He died about 1776 and his two Sons were adopted and brought up by their Uncle Rae Nanuck Ram. Rajah Chundoo Loll was born in 1766. He first held a subordinate employment in the Excise. Early in the administration of Azim ool Omrah, Rae Nanuck Ram was removed from the office of Kurrorah and soon after died. In 1794 Rajah Chundoo Loll was presented by the late Nizam's Son in Law Buddee oolla Khan, the Soubah of Hyderabad to the Nizam and Azim ool Omrah, who were at Bider preparing for War with the Marhattas, and was sent to take Charge of the Districts of Quncha and Pungoola as the Agent of Buddee oolla Khan. In 1795 Buddhee oolla

Khan having joined in the Rebellion of Aalee Jah and fled from the Nizam's Territories Rajah Chundoo Loll returned to Hyderabad, where he was patronized by Shum Sheer ool Mook an old and favourite adherent of the late Nizam, and one of his five associates in the murder of Hyder Jung. Rajah Chundoo Loll was soon after made Kurrorah and appointed to the Charge of Mukkul and some other Districts to the S.W. of Hyderabad. In 1797 he resigned the Office of Kurrorah in consequence of some new arrangements being introduced into the Department of Azim ool Omrah of which he did not approve; and he then received charge of Bollary, Gooty, Kurpah, and a large Portion of the Districts which were afterwards ceded to the Company by the Treaty of October 1800. Rajah Chundoo Loll delivered those Districts over to the Company's Officers and then returned to Hyderabad where he has remained ever since. On Meer Allum's Appointment to be Minister in 1804 Rajah Chundoo Loll was confidentially employed by him. He first received Charge of the Lands assigned for the Payment of the Paegah Troops under Shums ool Omrah and in 1806 he was appointed Paishkar or Deputy to Meer Allum on whose death in 1808 he became the efficient Minister of the Government, Mooneer ool Mook having been appointed Dewan under an express Provision that he was to be Minister only in Name and that all the Authority and responsibility of the Office were to be vested in Rajah Chundoo Loll under his former Designation of Paishkar. . . .

[Here follow details of his children] . . . Rajah Chundoo Loll is of Middling Stature very thin and of rather a dark Complexion. The expression of his Countenance is mild intelligent and thoughtful. He has lost his Teeth, is much bent, bears great appearance of Infirmity. In his Manner he is unaffected and even humble. He is free from ostentation of any Kind and is not Expensive in his own family or Person. But he is profuse and indiscriminate in what he considers to be Charity and is always in Want of Money. He has been very well educated both as a Scholar and as a Publick Officer. His understanding is Sound, his Talents quick, his Memory retentive, his Industry indefatigable, and he has great experience and aptitude in all the Modes of Business from the highest Branches down to the most minute detail. He does everything himself and the labour which he undergoes is almost incredible. He rises early enough to get through his religous observances by daylight. He is then attended by the different Officers of Government with whom he transacts Business until about 9 O'Clock, when he goes to the Palace if necessary; otherwise he continues transacting publick Business until about 12, when he takes his first

Meal. He then again transacts Business until three when he lies down for an hour, and looks over his domestick Accounts. During the Afternoon and Evening, he sits in publick, and receives the Visits of those who wait on him either out of Compliment or on Business. At about 8 he takes his second meal and afterwards examines signs and dispatches all the different Papers which have been prepared during the day. His only recreations are Musick and literature. At about Midnight his Business is closed and he is then attended by Singers and Musicians, and by a Number of Persons who are eminent for their learning, their Skill in Poetry, or for any polite attainment, with whom he converses for about an hour, and then retires to rest. His great and perhaps his only defect is a want of firmness and decision. He is said to be personally brave, but he is totally devoid of Political Courage. The very mention of a bold measure alarms him and he resorts to every Species of procrastination and expedient to avoid it. He is naturally humane and benevolent but like all weak men in power he allows great Severity and injustice to be practised under the Sanction of his Authority. His Virtues belong to his private and his faults to his publick Character. In his politicks though he is not bold he is sensible and prudent. He is convinced that the Nizam's power cannot support itself and he is devoted with unquestionable fidelity to the Alliance with the British Government. On his return to Hyderabad after delivering up the Ceded Districts in 1800 he was particularly noticed by Colonel Kirkpatrick. He was afterwards indebted to Captain Sydenham for much of the Prosperity which he now enjoys and in addition to his original predelection he has so strongly incurred the Jealousy of the Nizam himself as well as of the principal Omrahs that he feels he must henceforward owe his very Safety to the Support of the British Government. Rajah Chundoo Loll is paid for his official duties by a Commission on the Revenues which for some years past has annually produced on an average 2,86,390 Rupees. He also receives considerable Sums in Nuzzerana or presents on the Appointment of Persons to different Offices. He is a Munsudar of 5000 and his Party consists of 200 Horse and 2350 foot. He has no Jagheers of his own, but his Son Balapershau'd has a personal Jagheer which is rated at 11,957 Rupees. His Son in Law Deep Chund has two Jagheers which are rated altogether at 8250 Rupees ; his daughter has one which is rated at 3458 Rupees, and his illegitimate Son Nanick Bukhsh also has one which is rated at 3682 Rupees a Year

C. COLLIN DAVIES

CARE OF BOOKS IN THE LIBRARIES

A problem facing the Librarians in this country is the early decay of a large number of books in their respective libraries. Some of these books may show little signs of decay, others may be in an advanced stage of deterioration; still others may be in such a condition that they may fall into pieces when handled. Most of these books can be made serviceable if rebound and cared for properly. If this is postponed, their condition may deteriorate. Even at the last stage of decay, proper treatment and care will retard further deterioration and prolong the life of the book. The following observations and suggestions will, it is hoped, prove to be of some value to Librarians in prolonging the life of books.

It has been observed that due to poor binding, or improper use, the outside sections of many books become loosened, while the inner sections remain tight, with the result that the contents either sag within the cover or get separated from the cover. In such cases it has been found that it is not necessary to resew the book. The book can be made tight in the case of loosened outside sections by overstitching on to the tight section. Such resewed books, if they are otherwise in good condition, need not be trimmed and glued back into the original cover after the addition of new end covers to the contents.

Books that have been sewed by machine get weakened at the back after being used for sometime. In some cases, the glue becomes hard, and cracks down the middle of the back. Because of this, the books when opened take the form of V instead of the convexed curve which exists in properly bound books. This results in strain on the thread which breaks. The contents get separated entirely and may be lost if not rebound in time. The disappearance of roundness at the back of a volume may be attributed to faulty backing, cheap glue, and lightness of backing paper. Further, in some cases, the end papers get pulled away from the main body of the contents leaving only the thin paper to hold them in the case.

Poor binding is not always a direct cause of the above conditions, for such tendencies may also be observed in well-bound books which have been subjected to improper or rough treatment. In view of this fact, a few words in regard to the handling of books may be mentioned which, if followed, may considerably prolong the life of books.

The abuses to which the books are sometimes subjected are appalling, particularly to a book collector, or a book producer. Care should be bestowed on the question of housing and handling them. In some

cases the books that cost large sums of money are jammed into shelves or book cases with such compactness that it is literally impossible to pull them out without tearing their covers apart. Others are piled one over another and crushed out of shape. Books should be placed on the shelves in such a way that they do not rest on fore edges of the cover, that is, they should be kept lying flat or resting on the tail edges.

When a book is purchased from a book shop, it should be properly opened before it is read. To do this keep the book on a table horizontally, open in the middle and then turn only a few sheets at a time, rubbing at the inner margin until the beginning of the book is reached. Next turn over the book and repeat as before until the end side is reached. This method of opening a newly bound book tends to lessen the strain on the book where the sections are sewed and glued, and permits the leaves to lie open more freely. If a book is valuable, every leaf should be turned over separately and pressed down gently beginning from the centre, first one way and then the other. This will cause the back to bend evenly at all points and prevent premature 'breaking' of the back.

Any tear in print should be repaired with Japanese tissue paper, while any tear in the margin should be repaired with bond paper.

Dust is another enemy of books. Its particles, if allowed to remain, will cause discolouration of the surface exposed to it. So, books should be occasionally taken out of book cases and shelves and dusted with a feather duster. The use of a vacuum cleaner for dusting purposes is much recommended for efficiency and economy. All books bound with imitation leather or water-proof cloth should be cleaned with a damped cloth and little mild soap, while leather bound volumes should be given a periodical treatment with an oil dressing to prevent decay of leather. This may be done once about every two years. If it is not done, the covers of such books will break off at the hinges and leather will start rotting and becoming powdery. This is because of the fact that oil in the leather dries up causing the fibres to become dry and stiff, and thus deprived of its pliability the leather develops cracks. Oil dressing prevents the leather from decaying and becoming powdery. Care should be taken to see that volumes have dried completely before being replaced on the shelf.

Different book repairers have their own formulae for leather dressing, but practically all of them use Neat's-foot oil as the base. One simple formula consists of equal parts of pure Neat's-foot oil and castor oil. These are mixed together, heated, and allowed to cool before applying.

Another formula is the following:—

(a) Neat's-foot oil, pure 20°C. cold test	25%	by weight
(b) Lanolin Anhydrous	17.5%	"
(c) Japan wax, pure	10.0%	"
(d) Sodium Stearate, powdered	2.5%	"
(e) Water, distilled	45.0%	"

To prepare this mixture, melt the ingredients (a), (b) and (c) in a container over a double boiler. In another container mix the ingredients (d) and (e), and heat slowly till the powdered stearate gets dissolved ; then pour it slowly, with constant and vigorous stirring all the time, into the oily mixture. Allow it to stand for some time, and when nearly cold beat it with an egg-beater until the mixture becomes uniform. The mixture is an emulsion in water. If it is made properly, it is a smooth mixture, white to pale-cream in colour. If this emulsion separates into two layers, it can be restored by vigorously stirring or whipping the mixture when cold. Pack it in an airtight container and shake it well just before using. Other formulae of Leather Preservative mixture are given in Appendix I.

Either of the above dressings may be applied to leather-bound volumes in the following manner. First, place a sheet of waxed paper between the cover of the book and its contents to protect the latter. Then, clean the volume well with a cotton cloth to remove particles of dust etc., for if these particles are not removed they have an abrasive effect on the leather surface during the application of the dressing. Apply a small quantity of the dressing directly to the leather with a cotton or flannel cloth or brush. This work should be done in a warm place in order that leather may absorb the dressing better. A few hours after this treatment, polish the leather with a soft cloth or a sheepskin shoe-polisher.

While rebinding library books, which may be necessary after a lapse of a few years, it is recommended that among other things, they be oversewed (*vide* para 4, Appendix II). Even new books sewed by conventional methods are often dismembered and should be oversewed. This method is preferred by Librarians because the books so sewed and bound (with the use of heavy end papers and library corners on the covers) are able to withstand the rigorous use to which they are subjected much longer than books bound by conventional methods. In Appendices II and III below are given some specifications for the rebinding of library books and the equipment required for the work, which, it is hoped, will be of some use to the Librarians. Specifications regarding the materials to be used for binding work are under the active consideration of the National Archives of India, New Delhi, and will be published in due course.

Appendix I

Formula I :

Lanolin Anhydrous	...	...	30.0%	by weight
Castor Oil	...	...	12.0%	"
Japan wax, pure	...	...	5.0%	"
Sodium Stearate, powdered	...	...	3.0%	"
Water, distilled	...	...	50.0%	"

Formula II :

Lanolin Anhydrous	...	...	50.0%	by weight
Neat's-foot oil, pure, 20°C. cold test	...	...	35.0%	"
Japan wax, pure	...	...	10.0%	"
Sodium Stearate, powdered	...	...	5.0%	"

Formula III :

Lanolin Anhydrous	...	...	55.0%	"
Sperm oil	...	...	25.0%	"
Japan wax, pure	...	...	15.0%	"
Sodium Stearate, powdered	...	...	5.0%	"

Formula IV :

Neat's-foot oil pure	...	...	60 %	"
Lanolin Anhydrous	...	...	40.0%	"

(Used by the New York Public Library).

Formula V :

Petroleum Jelly purified	100.0%	"
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(Used by the Worcester County Law Library,
Worcester, Mass.)*Formula VI :*

Lanolin	9 oz.
Bees wax	...	...	...	...	½ "
Cedarwood oil	...	...	...	...	1 "
Paraffin	...	...	...	...	11 "

(Used by the National Archives of India, New Delhi).

Appendix II

Specifications for Library Bindings (Rebinding of Books)

1. *Collating and Mending:*—

(a) All books should, before being taken apart, be carefully collated to detect any missing or damaged leaves or any peculiarities of paper or construction that might make rebinding inadvisable.

(b) All torn pages should be repaired first with Japanese tissue paper or chiffon. Minor tears may be mended by tissue paper, if in print, or bond paper, if in the margin.

2. *Preparation for Sewing:*—

(a) All double leaves, maps and inserts should be guarded with strips of bond paper or special handmade paper.

(b) Books unsuited for oversewing should be guarded for sewing or reinforced through their folded sections.

(c) For books that are to be oversewed, folds at the back should be removed so as to leave the maximum back margin possible.

(d) Books that are to be oversewed should be divided into uniform sections, each section not exceeding .05 inch in thickness.

3. *End papers:*—

(a) All end papers should consist of three functional parts, (1) an outward end leaf which becomes the cover lining, (2) at least two free fly-leaves, and (3) reinforcing fabric.

(b) The construction of end papers should be such that the sewing may go through the reinforcing fabric the same way as through the sections of the book.

4. *Sewing:*—

(a) Most books having proper inner margins and suitable paper should be sewed with thread by oversewing method by hand. No oversewing should extend more than $\frac{3}{16}$ inch from the back edge of the volume and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch from the head and tail of the volume.

(b) Exceptional books, such as picture books, books on music, certain art books, reference books etc., should be sewed through their folded sections. When such sewing is used, weak folds of sections should be reinforced with strips of bond paper and the sewing should be done on three or more tapes or cords, with linen thread usually on one.

5. Trimming:—

All books should be trimmed as slightly as possible or left untrimmed, if so instructed.

6. Edges:—

Edges should be sprinkled, stained or left plain as instructed.

7. Gluing, Rounding, Backing and Lining:—

Backs of books should be glued with approved flexible glue, well rounded and backed and also lined with approved cloth extending to within $\frac{1}{4}$ inch of head and tail of books and approximately $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches to each end paper on both sides.

8. Covers:—

(a) Covers should be made of good quality leather and binding cloth.

(b) Covers should be made over hard-rolled binder board the thickness of which shall be suited to the size and weight of the book.

(c) The cover material should be turned in enough to ensure proper adhesion (normally $\frac{5}{8}$ inch is necessary).

9. Casing-in:—

Books should be cased in with glycol paste or equal good quality starch paste and then pressed between metal edged boards until thoroughly dry.

10. Lettering:—

(a) Lettering should be done after proper sizing in clear type of a size appropriate to the book in style and position as instructed, using 23 carat gold deeply impressed to ensure long adhesion to the cover.

(b) At the option of the library concerned, approved coloured foils or inks may be used, but no gold coloured substitute of any kind should be used without the express approval of the library.

11. Protective Lacquering of Backs:—

All books should be sprayed or treated with a protective material evenly applied over their lettered backs.

12. Inspection:—

All books should be carefully opened out and critically inspected for defects in binding or errors in lettering, when received back from the binders.

Appendix III

*Equipment for Repair and Binding
of old Records*

A. Repair Work:—

Equipment	Recommended for			Approximate
	1 Mender	4 Menders	15 Menders	cost Rs. as. p.
1. Brass Plates $6\frac{1}{2}$ " diameter for paste	1	4	15	2 0 0 each
2. Brass Cups $4\frac{1}{2}$ " diameter for Dextrine Paste ...	1	4	15	2 0 0 ,,
3. Painting Brush 1" width ...	1	4	15	2 8 0
4. Scissors 8" pointed	1	4	15	1 8 0
5. Knives 3" blade ...	1	4	15	0 12 0
6. Bone Folders 7" pointed ...	1	4	15	1 8 0
7. Steel Scale 12" ...	1	4	15	1 8 0
8. Measuring Square $2' \times 1'$...	1			5 0 0
9. Degchi 9" diameter for paste ...	1			15 0 0
10. Degchi 12" diameter for Dextrine Paste ...	1	1	1	20 0 0

B. Binding Works:—

1. Lying Press ...	1	2	5	350	0	0	„
2. Press Boards 15" ...	1 pair	2 pairs	5 pairs	50	0	0	„
3. Backing Boards 15" 1 "	2 „	2 „	5 „	50	0	0	„
4. Card Cutter 18" or larger ...	1	1	1	450	0	0	„
5. Electric Glue pot (one pint) AC/200/250 Volts ...	1	1	1	150	0	0	„
6. Backing Hammer (Cobbler Hammer 16 oz.) ...	1	2	5	10	0	0	„

Equipment	Recommended for			Approximate cost Rs. as. p.
	1 Mender	4 Menders	15 Menders	
7. Scissors 8" or 10" (for cutting cloth and leather) ...	1	2	5	5 0 0 each
8. Knives 4" blade ...	1	4	15	2 0 0 ,,
9. Leather Paring (Rampi) ...	1	1	3	15 0 0 ,,
10. Firmer Chisel 2" blade ...	1	1	3	5 0 0 ,,
11. Bodkin ...	1	1	3	5 0 0 ,,
12. Bone Folder 7" pointed ...	1	4	15	1 8 0 ,,
13. Measuring Square 2' x 1' ...	1	1	2	5 0 0 ,,
14. Glue Brushes 7/8" round ...	1	1	1	—
15. Needles ...	1 doz.	1 doz.	3 doz.	—
16. Nipping Press 20" x 15" — maxi- mum distance be- tween plattens 13"	1	1	1	500 0 0 ,,
17. Oilstone (Pike-India, combination fine and coarse) ...	1	1	1	50 0 0 ,,
18. Saw 6" ...	1	1	1	15 0 0 ,,
19. Gold-lettering Equipment Hand- operated ...	1	1	1	500 0 0 ,,

Note:—All the above items can be purchased or got ready locally.

Y. P. KATHPALIA

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NEWS NOTES

INDIA

National Archives of India

Among the principal accessions of non-current records of the various Ministries of the Central Government mention may be made of 474 bundles of records of the late Foreign and Political Department (1881-1923); 18 volumes of indices to the Budget Branch (1930-45), Salaries and Expenditure Branch (1921) and Establishment III Branch (1942-43, 1946-50) of the Ministry of Finance; 3 volumes of general indices to the Home Department Proceedings (1941, 1943, 1945); and 13 files of the Ministry of Railways (Railway Board) for the years 1944-45.

8 more reels of microfilms of selected items were received from the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, in pursuance of the programme of obtaining from abroad microfilm copies of records of Indian interest.

9 drawings and as many documents purchased from Mr. Edward Hall of Surrey, England, were added to the manuscripts collection of the Department. Noteworthy among the documents are a statement of revenues of the East India Company from their trade in India (1773-78), and Kipling's holograph letter to H. Penn, Esqr., dated 16 November 1910. Besides these, 133 albums of photographs covering the tours of the Prime Minister, Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru, in India and abroad, were received from his house as gifts.

As regards the publication work of the Department, the printing of Volumes I, II and IX of *Fort William—India House Correspondence*, Volume I of *Index to the Records of the Foreign and Political Department*, 1756-80, and Volume X of *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, 1792-93, made steady progress.

The second session of three months' Short Course of Training in Archive-Keeping commenced on 1 July 1955 with 12 trainees from Ministries and offices of the Central and State Governments on the roll, and concluded on 30 September 1955. The one year Diploma Course concluded in December.

1,615 books and periodicals were added to the Library of the Department. These include 157 valuable historical and reference publications received from the United States of America under the Wheat-Loan Programme of that country, and copies of Parliamentary Papers on India and Eastern Affairs, 1908-47, received from Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London.

During the period July-December 1955, the Bhopal Branch of the National Archives of India took over from the Central Records Office, Bhopal, over 800 bundles of records. Among the chief accessions mention may be made of 5 bundles of confidential records of *Daftari-Insha*, 9 bundles of records of *Salana-daran*, 16 bundles of records relating to boundary disputes, and 757 bundles of settlement records of the various *tehsils*.

At the request of the Government of Bhopal the Branch Office participat-

ed in an exhibition of books, manuscripts, etc. organized in the Government Hamidia College in November 1955, and some selected documents together with certain specimens of repair work done in the Office were displayed.

Allahabad

The Central Record Office, Allahabad, accessioned the pre-Mutiny records of Jalaun and Almora districts, and made considerable progress in compiling *Historical Papers relating to Kumaun (1811-59)*, *Calendar of Oriental Records*, Volume II, *Press List of Pre-Mutiny Records*, Volume II, and *Catalogue of State Papers* up to 1857.

Assam

The fresh accessions of the Assam Secretariat Record Office, Shillong, totalled 5,346 files from the different departments of the Government. The Amalgamated Index to the Government Proceedings for the year 1950 is under preparation. With the appointment of additional staff the Office is now in a position to attend to the work of repairing old and brittle records.

The Government of Assam has recently constituted a Regional Records Survey Committee with Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam, as Chairman and Shri K. N. Dutt, Research Officer for the compilation of the History of Freedom Movement in Assam, as Secretary.

Bombay

The Secretariat Record Office, Bombay, has recently acquired 406 old documents relating to the affairs of the 17th and 18th centuries. They consist mainly of treaties and engagements between the East India Company on the one hand and the Peshwas, Angrias of Colaba and Gaikwads of Baroda on the other. The Office has also acquired photographic reproductions of two rare historical maps of Belapur and Vijaydurg and sixty Adilshahi *farmanas* of the former Sawantwadi State. Among the papers acquired by purchase mention may be made of a Marathi document entitled "Experiences in the Camp of Tatya Tope (1855-59)" by Shri P. M. Balsare.

As regards publications, a Marathi volume entitled *Historical Genealogies* compiled by Dr. G. S. Sardesai is in the press, and *Expansion of Maratha Power (1707-61)* in the series *Selections from Peshwa Daftari* (New Series, Volume I), and *A Monograph on Akota Bronzes* are awaiting publication.

Hyderabad

Among the recent accruals of the Central Records Office, Hyderabad, special mention may be made of about 10,000 documents relating to the

Asafjahi period, received from the Salar Jung Estate Committee, and more than a lakh of *Siahajat* or marriage certificates granted by Darul Qaza till the end of 1915 A.D., received from the High Court.

The collection of historical documents in Persian has been enriched by the purchase of a rare *sanad* granted by Feroz Shah Bahmani over 500 years ago, and by the acquisition of photostat copies of a *farman* issued under the seal of the Mughal Emperor Akbar in 1604 A.D. and a *nishan* issued by Parwiz, son of Jahangir, in 1626 A.D.

Among the manuscripts purchased by the Office, *Tuzuk-i-Mahboobia* which is in Urdu and deals with the political happenings in the Hyderabad State immediately preceding the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857, deserves special mention.

The Office has recently issued the *News-Letters* of Mir Nizam Ali Khan's reign. Three other volumes, viz., *Poona Akhbars*, Volume III, *Diplomatic Correspondence between Mir Nizam Ali Khan and the Governors General*, and *Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign*, are under print, and *The Rajendra Collection* and *Bulletins of the Court of Mir Nizam Ali Khan* are being compiled.

The Hyderabad Regional Records Survey Committee held its eighth meeting on 21 October 1955 and discussed, among other matters, the question of acquisition of papers of historical and archival value from the estate of the late Salar Jung and the report of the tour of Bidar, Udgir, Parli and Momina-bad undertaken by Shri R. M. Joshi with a view to explore the possibility of securing the historical records available there.

Jammu and Kashmir

A Regional Records Survey Committee was set up by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir in June 1955, with the Director of Education as *ex-officio* Chairman and the Director of Records as *ex-officio* Secretary. The Committee has been able to trace in private ownership several old manuscripts, some of which are on birch bark, besides a number of rare books written in Kashmiri, Sanskrit and Hindi. The manuscripts at Handwara deal with history, religion, philosophy and grammar. Those at Bijbhara include *Brahat Katha* in Sharda script, a work on classical music entitled *Shri Sam Veda* written both in Sharda and Persian scripts, and *Vijay Shawar Mahatmai* which throws light on the past history of the town. The Committee has received through the Dogra Mandal, Jammu, information about a collection of rare manuscripts including *Ramayana* in Persian, *Dhanurvidya*, a treatise on military science, and *Pushp-Phal*, a work on horticulture. The Committee is not, however, in a position to purchase them immediately for want of funds.

Madras

The recent acquisitions of the Madras Record Office consist of records of the various departments of the Secretariat for 1951 and of the Madras Prohibition Enquiry Committee, the District Revenue Administration Enquiry

Committee and the Madras State Advisory Committee for the review of the minimum rates of wages fixed for employment in oil mills and rice, flour and *dal* mills. As regards the publication programme of the Office, the preparation of the Handbook of the South Arcot District has been taken in hand in addition to the revision of the Madura District Gazetteer.

The Government of Madras has reconstituted the Regional Committee for Survey of Historical Records, Madras, for a further period of three years with effect from 4 July 1955, with Shri T. Balakrishnan Nayar, Principal and Head of the Department of History, Presidency College, Madras, as Convener. The Committee obtained from the District Court a printed list of records of the Palace Estate, Tanjore, but found that most of the records mentioned therein were not of any historical value. The other records in the possession of the Junior Prince of Tanjore being of the same nature, the Committee did not consider it worthwhile to list them. The Committee has acquired photographic copies of 11 Tamil, English and Dutch documents relating to the 18th and 19th centuries, besides an old *sanad* in Modi characters bearing the signature of Sir Thomas Munro.

Mysore

Shri Hullur Srinivas Jois, who is one of the members of the Mysore Regional Records Survey Committee, has secured 21 historical records relating to Madakara Naik, Palegar of Chitaldrug. The Committee intends to get them microfilmed.

Orissa

The Orissa State Archives, Bhubanesvara, has recently acquired from the Collector of Ganjam 60 volumes of the Gazetteer of Fort St. George (1832-72) and 23 volumes of manuals, reports and calendars.

Punjab

The Punjab Government Record Office, Simla, continued its efforts to fill up the gaps created in its records as a result of the Partition of 1947, and obtained from the National Archives of India, New Delhi, microfilm copies of records relating to the Punjab available among Political Consultations for the years 1813-30 and Secret Consultations for the period 1815-30.

Rajasthan

The Archives Department of the Government of Rajasthan, Jaipur, was established in June 1955. It took over the control of record offices of the integrating states from the General Administration Department under which they were previously functioning. Since its establishment, the Archives Department has been engaged in taking over charge of the records of the covenanting states of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Udaipur, Bikaner, Alwar, Kishangarh, Tonk, Karauli, Kotah and Dungarpur. Dr. M. L. Sharma is Director in charge of the Department.

West Bengal

The recent accruals of the West Bengal Record Office, Calcutta, consist of 160 collections of A Proceedings and 5,807 collections of B Proceedings of the various departments of the State Secretariat for the years 1949-51. As regards reference media, Press-lists of Ancient Documents relating to the Governor-General of Bengal in Council, Revenue Department, for the period 21 January to 19 December 1783 have been printed, and a consolidated Index to the Proceedings of the Medical Department, 1917-28, has been compiled.

INTERNATIONAL

International Library and Documentation Congress

Over 1,200 librarians and documentation experts from more than 44 countries participated in the World Congress which was opened in Brussels on 11 September by L. Collard, Belgian Minister of Education, and Luther Evans, Director-General of UNESCO. It marked a decisive step forward in the international organization of librarians and documentalists, and its most significant contribution was that it stressed the need for better co-ordination of the specialized work of the various international federations and associations in the field. The desire of specialists to discuss their own affairs among themselves led to the formal constitution of an International Association of Agricultural Librarians and Documentalists and a decision on the part of medical librarians and documentalists similarly to form their own association. These two bodies would be affiliated to both the International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA) and the International Federation for Documentation (FID).

The Congress recommended that national and international organizations of librarians and documentalists should strive to secure a wider exchange of their professional experience, personnel and publications; that public authorities should do their best to discharge their responsibility of organising national library services; and that so far as international, national and special bibliographies were concerned, the United Nations and its specialized agencies should assume leadership in the co-ordination of subject bibliography within their respective subject fields. With regard to document reproduction by photograph and microfilm, it urged that libraries should be given every encouragement and the necessary means to photograph their holdings as an insurance against their destruction both during war and peace. It also emphasized the need for increased efforts to use the best techniques to conserve books and manuscripts.

Before and between the meetings of the Congress, there were also meetings of the Twenty-second International Conference on Documentation, the Fourth International Congress of Music Libraries, and the Third International Congress of Libraries. At the Conference of the International Federation for

Documentation (FID) six topics came up for discussion: Exchange of documentary information; Professional training; Audio-visual materials; Classification; Productivity; and Special fields of documentation. The Conference emphasized the importance of documentation work in modern life, and recommended that in order to enable documentation services to benefit from each other's methods and experiences several specialized guides should be prepared and studies undertaken which would provide a sound basis for future national developments. The Conference also urged wider development of specialized courses for training in documentation techniques and methods in all countries.

Access to Library and Archival Collections through Microfilm

UNESCO conducted an inquiry among its member States in 1953 and 1954 to determine the means of improving access to library and archival collections through the use of microfilm. The replies received emphasized the need for paying attention to the "improvement of access to collections for the purpose of microcopying: improvement of customs arrangements for the exchange of microfilms; establishment of standard practices governing 'fair use' which would facilitate consultation of records; establishment of national information centres on microcopying to avoid waste of time and money in enquiries as to what material has been photographed, or in the duplication of previous work". But there was no unanimity as to the means for achieving this end. While eighteen countries were in favour of some form of international agreement, nine countries did not believe that such an agreement would be useful.

International Congress of Historical Sciences

The 10th International Congress of Historical Sciences, held at Rome from 4 to 11 September 1955, was attended by about 1,500 historians. The next meeting of the Congress would be held at Stockholm in 1960.

United Nations Organization

The U.N.O. has recently published *Index to microfilm of United Nations documents in English, 1946-50*. It covers the documents of the General Assembly, Atomic Energy Commission, Economic and Social Council, Preparatory Commission, Security Council, Secretariat, and Trusteeship Council. Reels marked with an asterisk in the *Index* are restricted to official use. Positive microfilm copies of the unrestricted reels are sold at cost for non-official purposes.

Council of Europe : Meeting of Archivists

Under the auspices of the Council of Europe an international meeting of archivists was held in Dublin on 27 and 28 September 1955, with Dr. R. J. Hayes, Director of the National Library of Ireland, in the chair. The meeting was attended by representative archivists from Denmark, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. A programme for

microfilming unpublished and out-of-print catalogues, inventories and indexes of manuscripts in national libraries and archives was chalked out, and it was decided that libraries and archives, other than national, be invited to participate in the project. It was further decided to hold the next meeting in Rome in September 1956.

UNITED KINGDOM

Anglo-American Conference of Historians

The 28th Anglo-American Conference of Historians was held at the Institute of Historical Research, London, from 7-9 July 1955. In the first general session Professor Lewis Hanke delivered an address on "Aristotle and the American Indians". Among the papers read at the Conference, mention may be made of "Tudor commercial records and their interpretation" by Dr. Alwyn A. Ruddock, "Russia and the Straits Question" by Dr. G. H. Bolsover, and "An historical view of the American colour bar" by Professor C. V. Woodward.

Next year's Conference was fixed for 12-14 July 1956.

British Association for American Studies

The Association has been formed recently for the purpose of encouraging study and research in the history, institutions, literature and geography of the United States. In order to achieve this end it will concern itself with the holding of conferences, the periodical publication of papers, the establishment of a centre of record for research materials in the United Kingdom, and the investigation and encouragement of the means of travel and study for British scholars in the United States. Membership of the Association is open to university teachers and others concerned with American studies, and the annual subscription is one guinea. Mr. Marcus Cunliffe of the Department of American Studies, University of Manchester, is the Secretary of the Association.

Bodleian Library, Oxford

The Library has recently acquired from Major John Congreve a small but interesting collection of six Johnsonian pieces of early date. This accession has lent considerable importance to Bodley's holding, since early Johnson manuscripts are very scarce. The collection consists of three letters, two to Richard Congreve, whose brother Charles had been Johnson's school fellow, and one to Gilbert Repington, himself a school fellow, two of the letters belonging to 1735 and the third to 1755. It also includes three Latin exercises: one elegiac piece and two prose fragments. One of the latter is signed and dated 1725 and is thus the earliest Johnson manuscript known to survive.

British Museum, London

Notable among the historical manuscripts acquired by the British Museum in 1955 are papers, deeds, etc. of the Medici family of Florence, 14th-18th centuries (Add. MSS. 48719-48799); Letter of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, to Louis XI, 12 February 1471 (Add. MS. 48988 [1]); Letters chiefly to Henry, Lord Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, from heads of northern religious houses and others, *circ.* 1520-40 (Add. MS. 48965); Register of the Privy Council, 13 November 1554-27 May 1555: the original rough draft (Egerton MS. 3723); Letters of Charles, 2nd Viscount Townshend, as Secretary of State, 1823-30 (Add. MSS. 48981-48982) and Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston, 1810-65 (Add. MSS. 48417-48519); Papers, etc. relating to Sir Edward Walter Hamilton, Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, *circ.* 1880-1906 (Add. MSS. 48599-48699).

John Rylands Library, Manchester

The Library has acquired from the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres one more batch of his family papers comprising both the Scottish documents and the records of his Lancashire estates. This addition supplements the letters and papers already in the collection and, with them, forms a valuable source of information for the history of England and Scotland.

Accessions to the Library's Charter Rooms include a new and extensive collection of family muniments consisting of over 800 documents relating to the Arderne and Alvanley estates in Cheshire. This collection has been deposited in the Library on behalf of Lady Helen O'Brien.

The Chairman of the firm Ryland & Sons has donated to the Library a sum of £21,000 for the purpose of erecting and equipping an annexe designed to include a new photographic studio and provide suitable accommodation for collections which require to be brought together in one place. Plans are ready and work on the project is expected to begin soon. The building will be known as 'The Isaac Wolfson Annexe'.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

National Archives and Records Service

The National Archives has recently issued a reference information paper describing records in its custody relating to the Middle East. The paper includes in its scope Iran, Arabia, Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria and Turkey. Other finding aids now published by the National Archives include preliminary inventories of records of the Bureau of the Second Assistant Postmaster General, 1814-1926, and of the Military Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives relating to the investigation of the War Department, 1934-36, and inventories describing the cartographic records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior and the records of the Office of the Pardon Attorney,

the Extension Service, the President's Commission on Migratory Labour, and the Select Committee of the House of Representatives to investigate Acts of Executive Agencies beyond the Scope of their Authority, 1943-46.

Library of Congress

The recent accessions of the Library of Congress include a collection of records of the National Child Labour Committee ; papers of the well known journalist, Dr. Douglas Southall Freeman, covering the years 1931-52 ; 25 volumes of manuscript notes entitled 'Minutes of Trials' received from Judge Learned Hand, sometime U.S. District Judge of the Southern District of New York ; and papers of Anson Burlingame, diplomat and Chinese specialist, and his family ; Charles S. Hamlin, Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, 1914-36 ; Joseph Sanford Wade, Government Entomologist, 1913-50 ; Charles Henry Brent, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Philippine Islands, 1902-18 ; Nelson Trusler Johnson, State Department official and Ambassador to China ; Otto S. Beyer, consulting engineer, economist and specialist in labour management relations.

Additions to the Naval History Foundation Collection in the Library of Congress consist of papers of Adm. Charles O'Neil, chief of the Bureau of Ordnance during the Spanish American War ; papers of Adm. Henry Clay Taylor concerning his command of the U.S.S. Indiana, 1897-99 ; and diaries of Adm. Albert Gleaves, 1902-36, director of United States convoy operations in the Atlantic in World War I.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library has acquired the official correspondence of Franklin D. Roosevelt as Governor of New York and Herbert Lehman as Lieutenant Governor, a large collection of family letters not included in the original gift of Roosevelt papers, and Myron Taylor's personal papers relating to his mission to the Vatican as well as his work on the international refugee problem.

Eisenhower Presidential Library Commission

The Eisenhower Presidential Library Commission consisting of five members has been established recently for the purpose of providing a site in Abilene for a library building to house the presidential papers of Dwight D. Eisenhower. The library, when completed, is expected to be operated and maintained by the National Archives and Records Service.

Society of American Archivists

At the annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists, held on 10-11 October 1955, Ernst Posner, Henry E. Edmunds, Henry J. Browne, William D. Overman and Wayne C. Grover were elected President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer and Council member respectively for the term ending in 1960.

PHOTODUPLICATION & MICROCOPYING

Association française de normalisation

The Association française de normalisation (23 rue Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, Paris-2, France) has recently issued a special number of its *Courrier de la normalisation*, covering all aspects of standardization in microcopying.

La Documentation française

La Documentation française has recently brought out revised edition of *Répertoire des collections françaises de documents photographiques* or catalogue of French collections of photographic documents. The new edition lists in all 650 collections, 400 of which were not mentioned in the first edition published in 1949. Entries in this catalogue are arranged in alphabetical order of holders of the collections, professional or amateur photographers, government services, etc. They indicate the size of each collection, documents photographed and whether it is possible to obtain copies. La Documentation française is proposing to keep the list up to date by issuing periodical supplements.

Microskanner

A new pocket-size microfilm reader, 'Microskanner', manufactured by the Microreader Manufacturing and Sales Corporation (Milwaukee 2, Wis., U.S.A.), has recently been put on the market. With this reader, which can be carried in the pocket like a pen, all forms and sizes of positive or negative microfilm and of microprint material can be read in daylight or with ordinary room illumination, and with both eyes open.

The Microskanner is $6\frac{3}{4}$ " long, $1\frac{15}{16}$ " high and $1\frac{1}{2}$ " deep. Magnification is approximately 20x, field of view $1\frac{5}{8}$ ". It has a fixed focus and a focal length of 2", but working distance is from 2" up to 8", depending upon the area to be read at one time. The weight, without the two standard pen-light batteries, is $2\frac{3}{4}$ oz., price: \$ 12.95.

BOOK REVIEWS

The East India Company and the Economy of Bengal from 1704 to 1740 by
Sukumar Bhattacharya (Luzac & Co. Ltd., London, 1954 ; pp. 233, 2 maps
and an illustration).

THE outstanding feature of the period under study is the rapid disintegration of the Mughal Empire following the death of Aurangzeb. This disintegration, however, did not affect the solidity or efficiency of the administration in Bengal, largely due to the strong hand of its Subahdar Murshid Quli Khan and the wise counsellors of his successor Shuja-ud-din Khan, namely, Haji Ahmad, Alivardi Khan, Alam Chand, and Fateh Chand (Jagat Seth). Judged from contemporary standards, the country was rich and prosperous, and as the author observes, "The common man had far more to eat and his condition was far better in the early eighteenth century than in the nineteenth, not to speak of present times." Trade under these conditions was bound to flourish. While these were shared in common with other European powers the English gained a great advantage over their rivals by obtaining from Emperor Farrukhsiyar, in 1717, a *farman* which gave them the right of trading duty-free in Bengal and Gujarat in return for the payment of a consolidated sum. This enabled them to gain a pre-eminent position in the external trade of the province, and their "investments and transactions exceeded those of all other merchants in Bengal." The hold over the economic life they were able to establish and the intimate knowledge of the political life they acquired during the period were of great significance for their future. "The child of 1717, which was clothed with legal status by Farrukhsiyar, was destined to be the youth of 1757, full of vigour and ready to strike at Plasssey." It is this growth in the commercial and economic power of the Company prior to its emergence as a political power on the Indian scene that forms the subject matter of Dr. Bhattacharya's thesis. He describes the general economic condition of the province, the manner and type of investments made, the growth in the volume of trade, etc. Vital to his theme is also the relationship between the Company and the Government of the province, which was by no means always cordial. The Subahdars viewed with suspicion the concessions gained by the Company under the Emperor's *farman* and strained every nerve to find loopholes in it to secure a more equitable share of its growing profits for the Government. They were quite vigilant and took firm measures to prevent the Company's servants from conveying articles of inland trade duty-free under the cloak of the Company's privilege, which referred only to articles of external trade. Feelings at times ran high and the Company's behaviour bordered on an open defiance of the Subahdars' authority. The Government was, however, too strong at the time to be shaken by such incidents. The Company was obliged nearly always to yield and make the best of the existing situation ; it was by no means an *imperium in imperio*, and its position was more analogous to that of turbulent subordinate officers and zamindars whom the Subahdars had to keep under control. Apart from having to deal with the

Subahdars, the English had to face the competition of their European rivals, in particular the Ostend Company, and also the vested interests of the all-powerful Indian banking house of the Jagat Seths. The conclusions reached by Dr. Bhattacharya confirm the basic views generally held on the subject, and his contribution to historical knowledge, which is indeed valuable, lies in the systematic and scientific presentation of the data available in the original records of the Company.

S. V. DESIKA CHAR

Portuguese Pirates and Indian Seamen by O. K. Nambiar (Bangalore, 1955 ; pp. iv + 212 ; Price Rs. 3/12/-).

COMMERCIAL intercourse between India and the West dates from the times of the Phoenicians of Sidon, Tyre and Carthage. The prosperity of the Levant was mainly due to its commerce with India. The Roman Empire had close contacts with South India. In the Middle Ages Venice and Genoa, and the Hanseatic League of Germany, through their contacts with the Arabs, held a monopoly of the Indian trade. The fall of Constantinople and other factors practically brought to a stop the trade with India along this route, and there was an imperative need for finding a new route to India across the ocean.

Of the two European nations which took the leadership in discovering a passage to India through the west, the Spaniards and the Portuguese, the latter were fortunate in rounding the Cape of Good Hope in 1498 under Bartholomew Diaz. This finally led to the discovery of the Cape route to India and the Portuguese holding virtual monopoly of the European trade with India for over a century.

The Indian policy of the Portuguese was motivated by two main considerations (1) monopoly of trade with the East and (2) spreading the Gospel of Christ in India. Incidentally their policy of conversion to Christianity and inter-marriage with the Indians has also left a permanent Christian Community on the West Coast. The Portuguese did not and could not attempt the subjugation of India as there were at the time powerful kingdoms in the South and the resources of the Portuguese were too meagre for such a task. But they established their naval supremacy in the Indian Ocean, routed the Arabs and gained the monopoly of the trade of India with the West. Their supremacy in the realm of commerce did not, however, go unchallenged. The Arabs, who were the worst affected by the Portuguese monopoly, combined with the Indian seamen and fought continual duels to undermine their power.

Prof. Nambiar has presented here a very interesting and connected account of the exciting exploits of the Indian seamen from Malabar in their life and death struggle with the Portuguese navy, a subject which had not

so far received the attention it deserves at the hands of our historians. Although they could not make much headway against the Portuguese, their organised and continual resistance went a long way to wear out and exhaust the resources in men and materials of the enemy to such an extent that the latter were a poor match for the Dutch, when they appeared on the Indian scene in the second half of the sixteenth century. The failure of the Indian seamen was due partly to their inferior equipment and partly to the unsteady policy of the Zamorins on whom the main burden of resisting the Portuguese fell. Prof. Nambiar has used mainly the published works on the subject in writing this account.

A. N. K. AIYANGAR

Civil Disturbances during the British Rule in India (1765-1857) by Sashi Bhushan Chaudhuri (The World Press Ltd., Calcutta, 1955 ; pp. xxiii + 231 ; price Rs. 8/8/- or 15 sh. net).

IN these days when the story of the struggle of the Indian people against the British Government in India is attracting much attention, this small work by Prof. S. B. Chaudhuri should be, indeed, of much interest, particularly from the point of the minor disturbances which took place in India from 1765 for over a century. The learned author uses the term "disturbances" in a very wide sense to connote rebellions, insurrections, political commotions, and communal struggles by all and sundry—the displaced ruling families, the dispossessed landed proprietors, and the disgruntled tenants, each category in its own way expressing its wrath at the British Government or at their own neighbours, and all adding to the general situation of unrest in the whole of India. The work is divided into six chapters, the first serving as an historical background ; the second dealing with the disturbances in Bengal and Upper India ; the third with the commotions in Madras and Southern India ; the fourth with those in Bombay and Western India ; the fifth with the rebellions in Ceylon, Burma, and Malacca ; and the sixth with the discussion of certain views relating to the participation of the masses in the revolts and the part played by ruling chiefs, and with some of the general causes relating to these disturbances.

The work is well documented, and is very suggestive of the trend of feeling that prevailed in the country against the British, who, by that time, no doubt, had cast their iron sway over the whole land. It is couched in a simple and attractive style, and is a welcome departure from the usual hackneyed dissertations on this or that aspect of a Viceroy's administration or a Governor-General's foreign or domestic policy. We have no doubt that it will appeal to all those who are eager to know some aspects of the long and eventful struggle of the Indian people against the British Government in India and the adjoining lands.

B. A. SALETORE

Clive as an Administrator by Nandalal Chatterji (The Indian Press Publications Ltd., Allahabad, 1955 ; pp. iv + 242 ; price Rs. 10/-).

THREE are some figures in Indian history who are a perennial source of interest. One of them is Robert Clive, whose achievements and character have engrossed the attention of scholars. Dr. Nandalal Chatterji avers in his preface to the monograph under review that historians till now have not correctly estimated the place of Clive as an administrator. They have either warmly extolled his administrative policy, or have heartily condemned it. Dr. Chatterji does not agree with either school of scholars but would assess the policy and work of Clive on the basis of factual documented proof as available in the records preserved in the National Archives of India. The present monograph, by the way, is a collection of papers already published by the author or read before the public meetings of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

This monograph is made up of two parts—the first, comprising author's discussion of certain topics (pp. 1-92), and the second, select documents bearing on the subject (pp. 93-231). A good bibliography (pp. 233-239) and a meagre index make up the remaining part of the work. After describing Clive's administrative work from 1765 onwards, relating to the Bimetallic Scheme, the Postal System, the Usury Question, the Company's Gumastahs, Clive's dispute with George Gray, the Company's Fire-Arms, the Illicit Trade in Arms, and the problem of the Junior Civil Servants, Dr. Chatterji gives an estimate of Clive's second administration. Well meaning and able as Lord Clive certainly was, he failed as an administrator, and the system which he laid down was marked by "a shortsighted opportunism which reveals his failure to rise to the heights of a statesman" (p. 92).

Written in a direct and unostentatious style, this small book is a welcome addition to the numerous works on one of the most daring of the early British soldier-administrators in this country. It should prove useful to all those who are interested in the history of the early period of the British rule in India.

B. A. SALETORÉ

An Introduction to Archaeology by S. K. Dikshit (Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1955 : pp xvi + 452 : price Rs. 25/-).

THIS is a very well got-up publication by the enterprising publishers of Bombay, the Asia Publishing House, on a subject which is both interesting and instructive. Written in an attractive style, it deals with archaeology in general, the Stone, Palaeolithic, Mesolithic, Neolithic, Copper, Bronze, and Iron ages, and concludes with two useful appendices on Radio-Carbon Dating and New Methods of Dating the past. A sufficiently exhaustive bibliography and a pretty complete Index conclude this book.

Archaeology has still to make much headway in this country, notwithstanding the excellent work done by the Archaeological Department of the Government of India and by the defunct Archaeological Departments of some

of the State Governments. Some enthusiasm has been evinced by a few Indian Universities in the field of archaeology ; but much, very much, remains to be done by the academic and learned Institutions, if any progress worth the name, in this direction, is to be achieved by us. Mr. Dikshit has done well in bringing together a mass of information on almost all aspects of this most fascinating handmaid of History—Archaeology—without whose co-operation and guidance practically nothing can be learnt about the prehistoric past. That the learned author is widely read in the up-to-date literature on the subject will be evident from the citations at the end of every page. Although we do not see the propriety of citing certain well-known figures in the political and purely literary spheres (p. 40, para 3rd) in a work like the one under review, which is more scholarly than propagandistic, and of relying on newspaper reports (p. 136) for arriving at certain plausible conclusions, yet we have no hesitation in maintaining that in this work, Mr. Dikshit has given a wealth of details which are not available in a single book, and which even to a layman would be both instructive and profitable. We congratulate both the author and the publishers on having published this work, which we recommend to all those who seriously desire to know something about the results of archaeological excavations abroad and in India.

B. A. SALETORE

Annual Report on the National Archives and Records Service from the Annual Report of the Administrator of General Services for the year ending June 30, 1954 (Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1955 ; pp. 1-29).

THE records management programme of the Federal Government is based in a large measure on the recommendation of the task force on records management of the First Hoover Commission. The task force of the Second Hoover Commission is now engaged in the study of the problem of paperwork management and is expected to furnish another blue print for records management.

With the establishment of two Federal Records Centres at Kansas City and Seattle, each of the 10 GSA Regions has now a centre. The record holdings of all the ten Federal Records Centres as well as of the Civilian Personnel Records Centre at St. Louis were computed at 2,439,000 cubic feet on 30 June 1954 as against 1,881,000 cubic feet on 1 July 1953. The large-scale transfers of records to the Federal Records Centres resulted in considerable economy and in the year under review alone, space and equipment worth about 3.4 million dollars was released at the various Agency Records Centres, whose number is now being gradually reduced since it is felt that small centres are relatively uneconomical.

As required by GSA regulations, most agencies had completed records control schedules for the orderly retirement of almost all their records. The report of the agencies that 25 per cent of their records are of permanent value

shows a decline from the 29 per cent reported in 1953. This was achieved only as a result of careful re-evaluation of the "permanent records".

Ever since the General Service Administration records management programme was started in 1950, the agencies have frequently asked for assistance in their specific records management problems. The GSA reviews each agency request for the purchase of filing equipment to ensure that all possible records have been destroyed or transferred to record centres before additional equipment is obtained. This has made for an all-round economy.

Some very important documents in American history—the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States (transferred in 1952 by the Library of Congress) and the Bill of Rights have found a comfortable home in the Exhibition Hall of the National Archives.

The record holdings of the National Archives in 1954 (758,500 cubic feet) show a considerable decline from those of 1950 (909,000 cubic feet). This reversal of upward trend is accounted for chiefly by the restrictions on accessions and increased internal disposals including some transfers to the regional records centres. Amongst the 1954 accessions is a document said to be one of the oldest, a letter dated 15th March 1791 from President Washington to the Secretary of the Treasury, Hamilton. Another interesting item of accession is the cartographic records which include maps and plans produced or used by the two French companies organised to build a canal across the Isthmus of Panama or by the first Isthmian Canal Commission 1881-1900.

The National Archives continued its programme of appraisal of Government records as well as of reviewing lists or schedules of records recommended for disposal by Federal agencies. During the fiscal year lists and schedules covering 7581 items, 2,595 more than in 1953 were reviewed and reported to the Congress for final action. Besides the inventories, numerous lists, indexes, and catalogues were prepared for staff use. Progress was also made towards the development of a comprehensive catalogue of National Archives motion picture holdings. The publication of the quarterly list entitled *National Archives Accessions* which had hitherto been published as a supplement to the *Guide to the Records in the National Archives*, was discontinued. It will henceforth be published at irregular intervals. The first issue No. 51 appeared in the new format during the year under review.

The report incorporates as usual the activities of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, National Historical Publication Commission and the Federal Register.

The determined efforts of the National Archives and the Federal Records Centres at reducing the bulk of records, at the same time retaining everything of importance, are indeed praiseworthy and their further experiments in the field will be watched with interest.

DHAN KESWANI

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